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President:	Mr. Desalegn	(Ethiopia)
Members:	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Mr. Llorentty Solíz
	China	Mr. Wang Yi
	Egypt	Mr. Al Sisi
	France	Mr. Le Drian
	Italy	Mr. Gentiloni Silveri
	Japan	Mr. Kono
	Kazakhstan	Mr. Abdrakhmanov
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Senegal	Mr. Sall
	Sweden	Mr. Löfven
	Ukraine	Mr. Poroshenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mrs. May
	United States of America	Mr. Pence
	Uruguay	Mr. Loedel

Agenda

United Nations peacekeeping operations

Reform of United Nations peacekeeping: implementation and follow-up

Letter dated 22 August 2017 from the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2017/766)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Expression of sympathy in connection with the earthquakes in Mexico and the tropical storms on the Atlantic coast and in the Caribbean

The President: At the outset of this meeting, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Security Council, to express our sadness at the loss of life and damage resulting from the earthquake that took place yesterday in Mexico. The members of the Council would like to extend their condolences to the Government and the people of Mexico, which has suffered two significant earthquakes in just two weeks. The Council members would also like to offer their condolences to all the victims of the tropical storms that have buffeted the Atlantic coast and the Caribbean this season, and I wish a speedy recovery for all who have been affected by that natural disaster.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

United Nations peacekeeping operations

Reform of United Nations peacekeeping: implementation and follow-up

Letter dated 22 August 2017 from the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2017/766)

The President: I wish to warmly welcome the Heads of State and Government, Ministers and other representatives here in the Security Council Chamber. Their presence today underscores the importance of the subject matter under discussion.

I am also delighted to welcome our briefers: His Excellency the Secretary-General; His Excellency Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat, Chairperson of the African Union Commission; and His Excellency Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Chairperson of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations.

Members have before them a list of speakers who have requested to participate in today's meeting, in accordance with rules 37 and 39 of the Council's rules of procedure and the previous practice of the Council in that regard. I propose that they be invited to participate in this meeting.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2017/766, which contains the text of a letter dated 22 August 2017 from the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept note on the item under consideration.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Secretary-General António Guterres.

The Secretary-General: I thank this month's presidency of the Security Council, Ethiopia, for being such a steadfast contributor to peacekeeping. Its personnel are on the front lines in some of our most challenging missions, and we are extremely grateful for that commitment.

Today we gather to fortify this flagship United Nations activity. Every day, peacekeepers create conditions for lasting peace that protect civilians, such as the hundreds of thousands in South Sudan and the Central African Republic who have sought refuge. Across the years and across the globe, 55 peacekeeping operations have successfully completed their mandates. Many political missions have done the same. Four missions are downsizing or closing soon, their job completed, and the strategies to ensure a smooth transition in these situations are absolutely crucial.

Peacekeeping remains a highly cost-effective instrument. The people of Haiti and Côte D'Ivoire will enjoy a brighter future thanks in part to the support of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti and the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire. I pay tribute to the many peacekeepers who have paid the ultimate price in carrying out this vital work.

(*spoke in French*)

Despite the evident successes, peacekeeping operations can at times be disappointing and apparently lacking in prospects, unable to bring decades-old engagements to an end. This prompts us to engage in reflection about our goals, the means with which we avail ourselves, and our ability to implement complex mandates and to meet multiple ambitions. Peace operations are deployed in difficult environments where the United Nations is at times the sole party able and willing to act. Peace operations are subject

to significant and perhaps overly weighty expectations insofar as they must address urgent situations while contributing to long-term solutions. Peace operations often face situations of such complexity that it is illusory to hope that a solution can be provided over the course of a few years.

(*spoke in English*)

The High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, whose recommendations remain at the heart of our efforts to advance collective security, called for four critical shifts. My reform efforts aim in part to bring them about.

First, we must recognize the primacy of politics so that peace operations are deployed in support of active diplomatic efforts, not as a substitute. My proposals for the Secretariat's peace and security architecture seek to strengthen the link between political strategies and operations and between peace and security and the development and human rights pillars of our work. If we can do better on prevention, mediation and peacebuilding, we can reduce the unrealistic and dangerous demands on our colleagues in uniform.

Secondly, peace operations should be properly equipped. It is time to fill critical gaps in technology, transportation and situational awareness. More mobility, better equipment and enhanced training and intelligence will allow us to do a better job and, eventually, with smaller numbers.

Thirdly, peace operations must embody United Nations values. Since the earliest days of my tenure, I have sent strong signals of my determination to stamp out sexual exploitation and abuse. In one important sign of progress, Member States are now certifying prior to deployment that none of their personnel has a history of misconduct or human rights violations, and the Secretariat also vets certain senior personnel. We have just appointed the first-ever victims-rights advocate, and we are taking other strong steps to promote accountability. In keeping with an Organization-wide plan to achieve gender parity, I am making a push for more female officers and troops in our operations. More women in peacekeeping means more effective peacekeeping.

Fourthly, we must build stronger partnerships. The Joint United Nations-African Union Framework for an Enhanced Partnership in Peace and Security, signed in April, is a crucial step. Beyond their troop contributions, African States have assumed important responsibilities for peace and security in the continent. All across Africa, we are working closely with regional and subregional partners, from the African Union Mission in Somalia to the Group of Five for the Sahel (G-5 Sahel) to the Multinational Joint Task Force in the Lake Chad basin. I call on the Security Council to enhance its support, including through the clarity of mandates and predictable funding, in particular to the G-5 Sahel, in order to operationalize the force in the Sahel, and to the Multinational Joint Task Force battling Boko Haram.

Our partnership with the European Union (EU) is also crucial, and I look forward to signing a framework agreement with the EU and to exploring the possibility of establishing trilateral collaborative mechanisms.

These partnerships are especially important given the multiple tasks that are being undertaken. We now face the needs of peace enforcement and counter-terrorism, and the precarious environments in which we operate require additional efforts. It is clear that peacekeeping forces are not supposed to do peace enforcement or counter-terrorism. We need to take advantage of the complementarity that must exist between the United Nations and regional and other organizations. I appeal again to the Security Council to ensure, in that regard, clarity of mandates and adequate funding.

(*spoke in French*)

In the coming months, we will advance in the implementation of these reforms, which should enable us to better fulfil our tasks. In the short term, I have asked for a review of peacekeeping operations to be conducted so as to consider how our operations under way can better respond to the numerous challenges that I have mentioned.

(*spoke in English*)

With the Security Council's partnership and support, we can adapt peace operations to meet both the old and the new tests alike and to be more effective and more cost-effective.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mahamat.

Mr. Mahamat (*spoke in French*): It is always a fresh honour and a privilege for us to be invited to speak

before the Council. Allow me first of all to express our gratitude to all the Member States represented here.

I am all the more pleased to address them in that our meeting today is being held in the framework of the presidency of the Council under the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. I congratulate and warmly thank His Excellency Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, for initiating this debate on peacekeeping operations and for having forged over many months, along with all the other African members of the Council, the salutary unity and consistency of our positions, as well as for their outstanding advocacy work. We offer them our profound gratitude in the name not only of the African Union, but also and especially in that of the peoples of our continent, which we always seek to place at the heart of our action.

Today's debate gives us a new opportunity to take stock of and to question our shared, real and good-faith resolve to move forward on the question of the financing of operations mandated or authorized by the African Union through the contributions of the United Nations. As we see it, swift and decisive progress on this issue is crucial to bolstering the credibility of the partnership between our two organizations. For let us not deceive ourselves: our many meetings and exchanges at the institutional level, however productive they may be, as well as our declarations of principle, will have no effect if they are not followed up by concrete decisions and actions by all of us.

In that regard, I would like to clearly reiterate our resolute, ongoing determination to very quickly arrive at a substantive draft resolution that recognizes our contribution to the global peace and security architecture and endorses the principle that African Union peace-support operations that have the endorsement of the Security Council could be supported through United Nations assessed contributions. That is a question of justice for us.

I often hear that the African Peace and Security Architecture aims to provide African solutions for African problems. However, that seems to me a narrow interpretation of the thinking that inspired the very doctrine that underlies the innovative tool that is our Architecture. It seems clear to us that the problems in Africa are not problems of Africans alone. Certainly, the causes of those problems are not unique to Africa. I think there is now a common understanding that the consequences of the crises faced by the African continent do not affect just Africans.

It is because of the fact that, irrespective of their causes or origins, the problems in Africa first and foremost affect Africans themselves that the African Union has always emphasized, and assumed, its leadership in facing up to them. But we also underscore that the complexity of the issues and crises involved is such that no single organization can provide the full range of responses required. It therefore seems to us to be both fair and timely for the international community to recognize, through concrete decisions, the efforts of the African Union and its member States on this matter. It is also important to stress that ad hoc arrangements do not allow for lasting solutions.

In our view, a substantive draft resolution on the issue of the financing, through assessed contributions, of operations mandated or authorized by the African Union that subsequently receive the endorsement of the Security Council would not be a mechanism that would systematically open up access to the financial resources of the United Nations. It is understood that the specific decisions to be taken on a case-by-case basis by the Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union on assigning the mandates of the operations concerned will be subject to a concerted and collaborative process of analysis, evaluation, planning and reporting to be conducted by our respective secretariats.

From our point of view, no relevant argument can justify our common failings to agree, here and today, on such a substantive draft resolution. Like all other similar organizations, the African Union has had failures, but it remains committed to addressing them. This is not about our complying with a check-list imposed from the outside. Rather, it is based on an ethical requirement that we have set for ourselves, according to a time frame we equally imposed on ourselves. This ethical requirement has bearing not just on the strength of our institutional credibility; above all, it has to do with our people themselves, who are the very reason for the existence of our organization.

For us, though, it is also about the need for a convergence of views. Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations should enable regional organizations, such as the African Union, to contribute fully to the maintenance of international peace and security, in view of their proximity to the field, their knowledge of

local dynamics and their capacities to respond quickly. That would confer additional credibility upon the African Union by virtue of the Security Council being the embodiment of international legality.

Without delay, we must all equip ourselves with the means to achieve that goal for the sake of our common interests. We must avoid opting for the easy way out of evoking possible failings on either sides in order not to adopt a draft resolution wisely inspired by tragic situations we experienced several decades ago — or even more recently, as is the case of Mali or the Central African Republic, where we all had to react to events, whereas we could have shown more initiative.

The African Union's approach to the principle of the use of assessed contributions should therefore not be seen as a hand-out. It is not a question of charity, but of fairness.

Let me say it again: our continental organization remains determined to translate the commitments it has freely embraced on financing and assuming a share of its peace-support operations. Our efforts will continue and intensify, regardless of the reluctance currently displayed by a minority of actors. I believe that this is a historical responsibility that everyone should bear as appropriate.

I would like to conclude by urging the Council to take decisions that encourage the outstanding progress made by the African Union and its member States and to pay tribute to the sacrifices made, especially when such progress is mentioned here at the Organization. The African Union must be given the right and the capacity to improve and transform itself dynamically.

In addition, allow me to encourage the Council to make a concrete and resolute commitment to the strategic partnership between our two organizations by adopting a substantive draft resolution on the issue of financing peace-support operations. That would help us to avoid validating the criticisms often levelled against us by our real masters — the citizens of our member States — for having spent years now making rhetorical statements and engaging in bureaucratic processes that quite frequently do not lead to the results expected of us.

The President: I thank Mr. Mahamat for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Ramos-Horta.

Mr. Ramos-Horta: On behalf of my colleagues who served with me on the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO), I commend you, Mr. Prime Minister, and the Permanent Mission of Ethiopia for this very timely initiative. I also thank you, Sir, for the invitation extended to me to participate today. Sitting behind me is my colleague Ian Martin, who will be very familiar to many members of the Security Council.

It is very gratifying to us that our report (see S/2015/446) and recommendations were so well received by Member States. Indeed, our report was not written by Ivy League academics or doctoral students without field experience. I was privileged to work with eminent achievers with deep experience of peacekeeping and special political missions. After criss-crossing the globe in our consultations, our report reflected the collective experience and recommendations of hundreds of people from many walks of life — retired and serving military and police officers who saw wars up-close, and community leaders and activists who live in the midst of conflicts.

We acknowledge the extent to which former Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon embraced our recommendations, the consideration they have been given by the General Assembly and by the Security Council, and the work already undertaken by the Secretariat towards their implementation. But the essential shifts advocated by HIPPO remain to be achieved.

The three peace and security reviews — on peace operations, the peacebuilding architecture and of the implementation of the women and peace and security agenda — as well as the World Humanitarian Summit, converged on the crucial need for more effective conflict prevention and for working to sustain peace before, during and after conflict. Last month, the Council was reminded of HIPPO's approach to sustaining peace when our colleague Youssef Mahmoud contributed to its discussion of the contribution of peacekeeping operations to this overarching goal (see S/PV.8033). The Council has embraced this priority, and no Secretary-General has made a stronger commitment to prevention and the necessary surge of diplomacy than has Secretary-General Guterres. We see it reflected in his insistence on an integrated system-wide commitment to prevention, in the way in which he has organized his Executive Office, in his proposals for reform of the development system as well as of the peace and security architecture, and in his appointment of a High-

level Advisory Board on Mediation — half of whose members are women, consistent with his commitment to gender parity and HIPPO's emphasis on the role of women in all aspects of sustaining peace.

It is national leaders and stakeholders who have the primary responsibility to prevent conflicts and engage in mediation, and the United Nations should seek to support local and regional prevention and mediation partners. Our report emphasized that the United Nations must invest in its own capacities to undertake prevention and mediation and in its capacity to assist others, particularly at the national and regional levels. These core United Nations functions must, we said, be funded under the regular budget, and not be dependent on voluntary funding. Member States should support the Secretary-General in these mediation efforts, both politically and financially.

Secretary-General Ban wisely asked our Panel to review peace operations, not peacekeeping missions alone, and he accepted our recommendation that the United Nations should embrace the term "peace operations". Our intention was not to move away from the principles of peacekeeping, which we said remained valid, but maintaining sharp distinctions between peacekeeping operations and special political missions should give way to a continuum of responses and smoother transitions between different phases of missions. He accepted our critique of the dysfunction of the present departmental configuration, which has hampered the effective design and conduct of peace operations, but rightly left it to his successor to consider a restructuring.

I believe that the proposals for restructuring the peace and security pillar, which Secretary-General Guterres has now outlined, meet the two greatest concerns of HIPPO. The management of both peacekeeping operations and large field-based special political missions by the same department will enable situation-specific responses tailored to context and smoother transitions as those contexts evolve. The single political-operational structure under regional Assistant Secretaries-General that would link the two reconfigured departments will not only overcome duplication and rivalry, but will ensure that peace operations are designed and managed within their regional context and in closer consultation with the relevant regional organizations. Our report said that the essential shifts we outlined would not be achieved without restructuring. This reform proposal is therefore to be warmly welcomed.

The Council has been concerned with seeing reviews of individual peace operations carried out, and our report itself recommended a review of long-standing missions to assess their effectiveness. We addressed the shortcomings of the Secretariat's policy, analysis and strategy-development processes, and stressed the need for a core capacity for strategic analysis and assessment, including in the planning and review of peace operations. We also recommended that independent evaluations of peace operations should be commissioned at key decision points. The Secretary-General's establishment of a strategic planning and monitoring unit in his Executive Office is precisely the reform that has been required to ensure better planning and reviews — with, I hope, an independent element.

The Council's decisions in mandating peace operations on the basis of such planning and reviews should always reflect the primacy of politics, and I hope the Council will be stronger in its insistence upon and support for the political strategies that peace operations are deployed to pursue. While some reviews may properly lead to reduction of resources, I would remind the Council that both the Brahimi report (S/2000/809) and the HIPPO report emphasized that mandates, resources, expectations and capabilities must be in alignment if peace operations are not to be set up for failure.

It is a pleasure to recall in the presence of Secretary-General Guterres and Chairperson Mahamat the emphasis our report placed on partnerships with regional organizations, in particular the African Union (AU), and to warmly welcome their signature in April of the Joint United Nations-African Union Framework for an Enhanced Partnership in Peace and Security. I reiterate here today HIPPO's support for flexible, sustainable and predictable funding for the AU peace operations that the Council authorizes, and for the use of United Nations assessed contributions on a case-by-case basis. I emphasize too our belief in the importance of United Nations regional offices as forward platforms for conflict prevention in partnership with regional actors, of which the successful efforts early this year to resolve the crisis in the Gambia were an excellent example.

In arguing for an essential shift to field-focused administration, HIPPO presented the distinct needs

of the field. We know that the Secretary-General, coming to Headquarters from a field agency, fully intends his management-reform proposals to provide the delegation of authority that is absolutely essential to those who provide the services to the field and to expedite service delivery and recruitment. From the HIPPO perspective, both the changes in management and policy and the operational support that is proposed to be provided to both Headquarters and the field by a single department must be rigorously assessed as to their impact in the field. We urge Member States to take whatever decisions are required to fully support such a delegation.

HIPPO's advocacy of an essential shift towards more people-centred peace operations has been widely quoted, and should be taken to heart by the leadership of every peace operation. Critical for the moral credibility of a peace operation is effective action to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse. The Secretary-General has given the leadership required and has gone far beyond the recommendations we made in 2015. We urge Member States to enter into the compacts he proposes.

In conclusion, in the course of 40 years — when I first came to the Council, I was 25 years old, the youngest person in the Chamber — today, as I survey the Chamber, I seem to be the oldest — starting as an innocent and romantic believer in the promises and possibilities of the United Nations, I have seen the best — when it lived up to the expectations of the people it deployed to protect — but also shocking betrayals on other front lines. I have engaged with United Nations personnel in my own country and in remote outposts where dedicated field staff have to bear the indifference of Headquarters, whose envoys descended on us, when I was in the field, to evaluate the mission, yet things stay the same. The United Nations can do better. The Council can do better. I trust that today's debate will mark a significant step on the road to the improvements that the High-level Panel has marked out.

The President: I thank Mr. Hortas-Ramos for his briefing.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2017/781, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Algeria, Australia, Belgium, the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czech Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Montenegro, Morocco, Nepal, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, the Republic of Korea, Romania, the Russian Federation, Rwanda, Senegal, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United Republic of Tanzania, the United States of America, Uruguay and Viet Nam.

The Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bolivia (Plurinational State of), China, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Uruguay

The President: The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been unanimously adopted as resolution 2378 (2017).

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Prime Minister of Ethiopia.

Let me start by expressing my appreciation to Secretary-General Guterres for his remarks and his efforts to strengthen United Nations peacekeeping. We also thank Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat for being here with us today and for his commitment to enhancing the United Nations-African Union partnership. We are also grateful to President José Ramos-Horta for joining us and for his insightful briefing on where we are in terms of the reform of United Nations peacekeeping operations two years after the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, which he chaired, presented its report (see S/2015/446).

Ethiopia welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2378 (2017), and we thank all the member of the Security Council for their inputs and contributions during the negotiations. We also thank all those members that co-sponsored the resolution in a demonstration of their commitment to strengthening United Nations peacekeeping as one of the important

tools in the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security.

The adoption of this important resolution has particular significance for Ethiopia as one of the leading troop-contributing countries to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Our contingents were among the peacekeepers deployed in the early days of United Nations peacekeeping. They were also among the peacekeepers deployed in the Congo to stabilize the country in the early days of that country's independence. Ethiopian peacekeepers also played an important role in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide and the civil war in Liberia. More than 8,000 Ethiopian peacekeepers are serving today as Blue Helmets in Darfur, Abyei and South Sudan. Ethiopia takes pride in its important role in United Nations peacekeeping, and today we are pleased to have made a modest contribution to advancing the reform of United Nations peacekeeping by proposing the resolution we just adopted.

We are meeting here today two years after major reviews were conducted focused on the United Nations peace and security architecture, as well as two years after the holding of the leaders' summit on peacekeeping. We therefore hope that this debate will afford us an opportunity to reflect on how far we have come in undertaking a reform of United Nations peacekeeping and to chart the way forward. I am glad to highlight four points in that regard.

First, we believe the Council has a key role in strengthening United Nations peacekeeping, as its mandates authorizes the missions' deployment. Therefore, adequate implementation and follow-up by the Council of United Nations peacekeeping reform, in accordance with existing mandates and procedures, is extremely important. We welcome the decision by the Council today to entrust its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations with reviewing reform initiatives, in close cooperation with other Member States, including troop- and police-contributing countries and host countries.

Secondly, as much as United Nations peacekeeping reform is important, the Council has not held a dedicated debate to discuss this issue comprehensively and assess the progress made. That is why we welcome the decision to hold this annual debate on the basis of a comprehensive annual briefing by the Secretary-General. It is also essential that the discussion take place at this time of the year, when world leaders gather in New York for the opening of the General Assembly's annual session, in order to keep peacekeeping reform high on the agenda.

Thirdly, we all know that the environment under which many peacekeepers operate has dramatically changed, but peacekeepers are not equipped with the necessary capabilities to carry out their mandates and protect civilians while also ensuring their own safety and security. That is why, two years ago, a number of commitments and pledges were made to address this issue. We welcome the updates provided by the Secretary-General to the Security Council as part of this comprehensive briefing on the continuous efforts made in filling the existing gaps in terms of force-generation and capabilities and other relevant aspects necessary for peacekeeping to effectively and appropriately respond to peace and security challenges.

Fourthly, we appreciate the Secretary-General's initiative to reform the United Nations peace and security architecture, both in the Secretariat and in the field. It is important that the Council send a political message to the Secretary-General welcoming his reform efforts. We believe that his continuous engagement with the Council and the General Assembly's various intergovernmental committees will be very important in moving the reform process forward.

Last but not least, enhancing global and regional partnerships is one of the most important pillars of reforming United Nations peacekeeping. Given the current global security dynamics, the United Nations cannot handle new and emerging peace and security challenges alone, and forging effective partnerships with a regional and subregional organizations is the most sensible and logical thing to do. Tht has already been well recognized, but what matters at this stage is taking practical steps in that direction, in the spirit of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, including through the sharing of burdens.

Let us be frank: there is a great deficit on this issue, and it is high time that the contributions and sacrifices of United Nations peacekeepers and of those deployed after having been authorized by the Security Council be acknowledged in an earnest and meaningful way. It is encouraging to note that the Council has expressed its intention to give further consideration to practical steps that can be taken and to the necessary conditions to establish the mechanisms through which African Union-led peace support operations authorized by the

Security Council and under its authority under Chapter VIII of the Charter could be partly financed through United Nations-assessed contributions on a case-by-case basis.

Our hope and expectation was that the Council would go further than that. What Chairperson Mahamat just told us today encapsulates the sentiments in Africa on this important issue. Nevertheless, we understand the dynamics in the Council and we will continue to engage with members to make progress on this issue, while building on what has been agreed to today. We believe this is not only fair and appropriate; it is also in the best interest of our collective security.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I now invite His Excellency Mr. Macky Sall, President of the Republic of Senegal, to take the floor.

President Sall (*spoke in French*): I would genuinely like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting on implementing the recommendations of the High-level Independent Panel on Peacekeeping Operations.

Peacekeeping missions are often deployed in hostile environments, where armed and extremist groups target our peacekeepers — not to mention the lack of cooperation from certain host countries. Too often, current missions are going beyond the strict peacekeeping security framework and taking on aspects such as economic and humanitarian assistance, protecting human rights, providing assistance to displaced persons and even refugee management within host countries. The recommendations set out in the report (see S/2015/446) of the High-level Panel, as well as those in the subsequent report (S/2015/682) of the Secretary-General, call for bold measures whose effective implementation should allow peacekeeping operations to enter a new phase in accomplishing their missions. I would like to congratulate Secretary-General António Guterres for his resolved determination in advancing the agenda on peacekeeping operations reform.

I would now like to focus on the relationships between stakeholders. I believe that the Security Council should strengthen its cooperation with countries neighbouring conflicts as well as with regional and subregional organizations — specifically with the African Union. With that in mind, the eleventh annual joint consultations between the Security Council and the African Union Peace and Security Council, which this year took place in Addis Ababa on 7 and 8 September, should help to further harness the benefits of that dynamic of cooperation. To that end, defining the mandates of operations should, from now on, be based on objective and complete information. Before any forces are deployed, we must first conduct a frank and clear assessment of requirements, in particular with regard to resources and equipment.

I would like to focus on the example of the Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), which we are all familiar with. It is currently the United Nations most deadly mission, with peacekeepers being killed throughout the year. Imagine what MINUSMA would be like without the presence of the French forces of Operation Barkhane, which took on the baton of responsibility in January 2013. Despite the presence of 10,000 Blue Helmets in Mali, today our soldiers still face unsafe circumstances. Sahel countries and the African Union have frequently called for the strengthening of the mandate, to make it more robust and, accordingly, to provide United Nations forces with the equipment required and clear missions. As we know, it is not always a matter of maintaining peace, as sometimes we have to impose peace to save human lives. We cannot do that against well-equipped hostile forces. Therefore, I think that the very nature of peacekeeping mandates must evolve to avoid spending endless amounts of money — with the outcome, as we just heard from the Chair of the Panel, being ineffective.

Another key issue that the Security Council must address is that of strengthening triangular discussions among the Security Council, the troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat in order to foster a spirit of partnership, cooperation and mutual trust. In terms of regional offices, I think the Chair is correct in saying that preventive diplomacy should be prioritized. Therefore, we must boost the quality of the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General. In my view, they should be respected persons who are able to speak directly with the Heads of State of the region concerned. Whatever the case, we need thinking on this issue. In fact, I think it is not simply a matter of United Nations officials, but also of having people in place who can have influence on Heads of State, since it is the Heads of State who can get those responsible to get things done.

As Chair of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, Senegal has contributed to the undertaking of implementing the recommendations of the report of

the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations report, by organizing thematic discussions to support stakeholder dialogue. Similarly, along with the United States of America, Senegal co-initiated resolution 2320 (2016), on cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union, which served to launch a consultation process between the two organizations to define the modalities and mechanisms to enable effective management of the issue.

Finally, I would like to reiterate Senegal's commitment to peacekeeping missions. It is laudable that, through resolution 2154 (2014), the Security Council commemorated the Senegalese presence by establishing, on 8 May 2014, the Captain Mbaye Diagne Medal for Exceptional Courage, to honour United Nations military, police, civilian and associated personnel who have endured extreme danger in the service of humankind and the United Nations.

The professionalism of our troops also depends upon their ability to refrain from any act of misconduct that could tarnish the image and reputation of the United Nations.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Abdel Fattah Al Sisi, President of Arab Republic of Egypt, to take the floor.

President Al Sisi (*spoke in Arabic*): It is my great pleasure to participate in this Security Council meeting organized by Ethiopia on the issue of peacekeeping operations. At the outset, I would like to welcome the adoption of resolution 2378 (2017), on the issue of peacekeeping reform, as a step towards enhancing the United Nations peace and security architecture.

Egypt was among the very first countries to contribute to peacekeeping operations, having participated in the first-ever mission, deployed to the Congo in 1960. Today Egypt ranks seventh in the top 10 troop-contributing countries. We have participated in 37 missions, with a total contribution of 30,000 uniformed personnel, since we began participating in peacekeeping operations across Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

Over the past decades, Egypt has responded to peacekeeping needs and has never refrained from participating — even in the most complex security situations — while maintaining the training, readiness and capability of its troops as a top priority. Furthermore, our compliance with the highest standards of conduct and discipline and zero tolerance for any form of misconduct is considered exemplary. Egypt has also contributed significantly to building regional capacity, in particular in the African and Arab regions.

As we welcome today's resolution on peacekeeping reform, we hope that it will be the first of many steps to ensure effective United Nations peacekeeping, while focusing on addressing technical and operational gaps, in order to include a comprehensive approach that aims to prevent conflict and sustain peace. In that regard, the role of peacekeeping and decision-making needs to be further articulated. In that connection, I would like to highlight the following points.

First, without prejudice to the significance of peacekeeping as the most important tool for maintaining international peace and security, it should not be the only tool to be deployed. Peacekeeping should not be an alternative to preventive diplomacy, mediation, peacebuilding efforts or any other political, economic or social tool for addressing the root causes of conflict and ensuring social cohesion. Peacekeeping should not be the initial reaction to every conflict.

Especially over the past three years, Egypt has repeatedly called for a new strategic approach that includes comprehensive, pragmatic political and programmatic plans, as well as adjusting mandates according to political and operational developments throughout the lifecycle of conflict. Such an approach is in line not just with the vision of a number of Member States, but also with the Secretary General's vision. I take this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General on his efforts to revitalize the tools at the disposal of the Secretariat, including its political tools. Those efforts must be commended and supported.

Egypt believes that such a strategic approach is crucial in addressing the complex challenges and consequences of armed conflicts. Most notably, that includes the weakening of State institutions, the ability to provide basic services, the breakdown of the social fabric and other challanges. In addition, that approach is also crucial given the direct relationship between conflicts and the threat of terrorism and organized crime, as well as other threats and challenges to peace and security.

Secondly, Egypt has always called upon the international community to prioritize its efforts to resolve conflicts rather than simply manage them, which has been the status quo for decades with no

potential for a political solution. Unfortunately, this is very much evident in conflicts in the Arab region and the African continent, where we witness relapses due to unresolved political, social and economic causes. In that context, I would like to echo the conclusions of the 2015 reviews of the United Nations peace and security architecture, which emphasized the primacy of political solutions as the basic task for both peacekeeping and special political missions.

Thirdly, peacekeeping operations must not substitute the role of Governments and host State institutions. Peacekeeping operations must not become trusteeship mechanisms, rather, they must provide an enabling security and political environment for nationally owned reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts in line with the priorities of those States and communities. In that regard, I would like to emphasize that any attempts to impose templates of political systems that have proven successful in countries thousands of miles away have repeatedly failed. Instead, we must take into account the political, cultural and social specificities of every country in order to ensure the success of our peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts.

Along the same lines, I would like to highlight the important and central role of peacekeeping operations in the protection of civilians. However, that role must not override the responsibility of the host country to protect its nationals. Peacekeeping operations should instead focus on building host State capacities. In that regard, Egypt believes that it is imperative that the mandates of United Nations missions mirror the priorities and specific needs of those countries.

Fourthly, allow me to be frank. Attempts to monopolize mandate-formulation by some Member States without taking into account the concerns of troop-contributing countries does not aid the success of peacekeeping missions. In fact, the absence of meaningful consultations with troop- and police-contributing countries is detrimental to the implementation of their tasks, in view of the lack of a common understanding among the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries. Therefore, I call upon the Security Council to support the establishment of an effective and institutionalized triangular consultative mechanism among the three stakeholder — the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries — which would reinforce agreement on common objectives when drafting or renewing the mandates of peacekeeping operations.

Lastly, it should be undoubtedly clear that the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security falls upon the Security Council. However, we must also recognize the vital role of regional organizations in conflict zones, as stipulated in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. More specifically, I would like to highlight the role of the African Union, which represents a successful model for partnership with the United Nations. The rehatting of African Union operations into United Nations operations and the success of hybrid operations conducted by both organizations underscore the central role of the African Peace and Security Architecture in conflict resolution, not just conflict management, on the African continent.

That partnership and cooperation could be further developed and utilized based on the comparative advantages of the United Nations and the African Union. That is particularly relevant at a time when the United Nations is attempting to optimize the use of its resources. To that end, I would like to emphasize the importance of implementing the Joint United Nations-African Union Framework for an Enhanced Partnership in Peace and Security, which was signed in April.

Moreover, the United Nations must also develop its partnership with other regional organizations and contribute to enhancing their effectiveness in responding to regional conflicts by developing their mediation and early-warning tools and cooperating with them to deploy observers and peacekeeping missions, if required. In that regard, I would like to highlight the potential role that the League of Arab States could play in support of promoting peace and stability in the Arab region.

In conclusion, as one of the top troop- and police-contributing countries, Egypt is committed to continuing to play its regional and international role in addressing challenges to peace, security and stability through its active participation in international and regional organizations and its robust contributions to peacekeeping operations.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Petro Poroshenko, President of Ukraine, to take the floor.

President Poroshenko: First of all, I thank you, Mr. President, for making this summit possible. It is only fair that this seminal meeting is taking place during

Ethiopia's presidency of the Security Council — a nation with an outstanding peacekeeping record.

It is undoubtedly true that, to be up to speed with an unpredictable world, the United Nations peacekeeping endeavour badly needs reform, as does the whole United Nations system. That is why it is high time to assess the current state of play, ongoing reform efforts and prospects for United Nations peacekeeping. I sincerely hope that this debate, along with resolution 2378 (2017), which we just adopted, and which Ukraine co-sponsored, will contribute to this vital exercise.

I must admit that, since the latest discussion of this issue, at the leaders' summit on peacekeeping in 2015, the world is becoming less and less safe. War and aggression are spreading, while peace and goodwill are in retreat. Our Organization, which was created to secure peace and stability in the world, cannot afford to stand aside. It must be proactive, as outlined in the reviews of United Nations peacekeeping and peacebuilding capabilities, which regrettably remain under-implemented in practice. In that light, we welcome and fully support the efforts of the Secretary-General to develop and implement a robust, comprehensive United Nations reform agenda that rightly focuses on strengthening the United Nations peace and security architecture. I see a number of essential ingredients for success in that regard.

The first is a truly proactive role for the Secretary-General in carrying out his responsibilities as set out in Article 99 of the Charter of the United Nations.

No less important is the task of protecting civilians, which has evolved into an integral part of peacekeeping.

Due attention should also be given to securing proper funding and sufficient capabilities, including aviation assets, advanced intelligence and modern technologies. Moving from traditional peacekeeping to cost-effective smart peacekeeping is long overdue.

Last, but not least, I commend the initiative of the Secretary-General to eradicate the scourge of sexual exploitation and abuse, which continues to overshadow United Nations peacekeeping achievements. As a responsible Member State, Ukraine signed the relevant compact with the Secretary-General. We look forward to its early implementation across United Nations operations.

I am proud that Ukraine has been a strong partner of the Organization in peacekeeping activities for many years. Ukrainian Blue Helmets have participated in United Nations operations throughout the world. In many cases they were indeed instrumental in reaching peace, from the Balkans to Africa. Ukraine's involvement in United Nations peacekeeping did not wane even at the height of the armed attack on my country by the Russian Federation. But today we, too, need the peacekeeping shoulder of the United Nations.

As the Council is well aware, in 2014 Russia unleashed an armed aggression against Ukraine and occupied part of our territory. Russia's mantra that "we are not there" does not hold water. It is an undeniable fact that Russia creates, leads, controls and sponsors terrorist operations in Donbas. Here is further evidence: these are the identification cards of Russian officers and soldiers, some of whom are in Ukrainian prisons for their illegal occupation of Ukrainian land.

The three-year-long Russian aggression has cost Ukraine more than 10,000 lives, with over 25,000 wounded and about 1.8 million internally displaced. In order to restore peace in my country, back in the spring of 2015 I officially requested that the President of the Security Council initiate the appropriate procedure for the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping operations in Ukraine. It has since gained additional urgency.

The situation is not getting better in the Donbas region, despite repeated ceasefire initiatives. Ordinary people continue to suffer. The human rights monitoring mission in Ukraine recorded 169 conflict-related civilian casualties in the period from mid-May to August 2017, leaving 26 dead and 135 injured. Just think of this number — this is happening in the twenty-first century, in the heart of Europe. People's right to life, liberty and freedom of speech continue to be violated on a daily basis. They can be killed for going to the wrong church, speaking in the wrong language or simply for disagreeing. If tragedy of this scale does not warrant a United Nations peace presence, then what does?

In that regard, I would like to reiterate my request to the Council to deploy peacekeepers in Donbas. We need to move forward on this track, the sooner the better. I therefore welcome the start of exchanges among Council members on the way forward. Ukraine is ready to participate constructively. At the same time, I must reiterate that the road to efficient peacekeeping — and eventually to the settlement — lies in the unconditional

withdrawal of all foreign military personnel and mercenaries and their weapons and equipment from Ukraine.

Moreover, reliable international control over the temporarily uncontrolled part of the Ukraine and Russian State border should be secured. That is key, as there can be no success in bringing peace to Donbas without preventing Russian troops, arms, equipment and mercenaries from continuing to infiltrate Donbas.

The deployment of United Nations peacekeeping operations should restore justice, rather than freeze the conflict and cement the occupation. Justice would be to restore Ukraine's sovereignty over its territory. Justice would be to make sure that no one can take away Ukraine's freedom. While designing such a mission, all United Nations peacekeeping principles should be observed. We will insist upon that throughout the negotiation process, no matter how long it takes.

Let me also reiterate our invitation to the Secretary-General to exercise his authority under the Charter of the United Nations and send a technical assessment mission to Ukraine. Based on the mission's analysis, possible options for a United Nations political and security presence in Donbas should be elaborated and presented for further consideration by the Security Council. We expect such a mission to analyse and assess the overall situation on the ground.

In conclusion, I would like to underline that peacekeeping remains one of the most effective instruments to make our world safer and to secure peace. In that regard, let me underscore Ukraine's unwavering commitment to the United Nations peacekeeping endeavour.

The President: I now give the floor to the Vice-President of the United States of America.

Mr. Pence (United States of America): It is a great honour to be with the Security Council today in the midst of the seventy-second session of the General Assembly.

As we gather at this historic Assembly, I know all of our hearts are with the people of Puerto Rico as they face Hurricane Maria and its aftermath, as well as with the people of Mexico City. Even now, as first responders and families seek to save the lost and find those that are injured in the midst of the earthquake that has now claimed more than 200 lives, our hearts and our prayers are with the people of Puerto Rico and the people of Mexico as we gather.

We are here today to discuss what I believe is the most important mission of the United Nations: keeping the peace. Let me begin by thanking Ethiopia for introducing resolution 2378 (2017), on peacekeeping reform. It was my honour, as Vice-President of the United States, to cast a vote in favour of the resolution.

As President Trump said yesterday in his historic address to the General Assembly (see A/72/PV.3), just as each of us should always put our country first, we will always put America first. But as his words and, I hope, our presence here attest, America first does not mean America alone. As the President said, we will forever be a great friend to the world. It is because of that commitment that he sent me here today to the Security Council to reiterate our call for fundamental reforms of United Nations peacekeeping and our determination to see this institution do even more to keep the peace across the wider world.

President Trump and I firmly believe that the United Nations must act to make its peacekeeping operations more efficient, more effective, more accountable and more credible. Ambassador Haley previously laid out the United States principles for peacekeeping reform, and we are all familiar with them. Peacekeeping missions must support a political solution and have the consent of the host country. Its mandates must be realistic and achievable. Every mission must have an exit strategy. And United Nations peacekeeping missions must adjust to progress and failure. In short, when a mission succeeds we should not prolong it; when a mission underperforms we should restructure it; and when a mission consistently fails to fulfil the mandates of the Council, we should end it.

We urge the United Nations to analyse all peacekeeping operations in the light of those principles so that missions most effectively advance peace across the wider world — after all, keeping the peace is at the heart of the United Nations mission. The very first words of the Charter of the United Nations are "to maintain international peace". Just yesterday President Trump challenged this great body to rededicate itself to that noble goal, and I do so today on behalf of our nation before the Security Council.

History records that the United Nations was forged in the fading embers of the Second World War, the most destructive conflict in the history of the world. The United States of America, with our allies, emerged victorious, but in that victory we vowed to come

together to prevent dictators and demagogues from ever threatening the peace that we had won through our shared sacrifice. As President Harry Truman told us then, it was not sufficient to merely check madmen who would plan world domination, but rather to bring together again "a mighty combination of nations founded upon justice for peace". And so we founded this great body, the United Nations.

That was the rallying cry of the United Nations in the twentieth century, and so it must be again in the twenty-first century.

But keeping the peace requires more than peacekeeping; it requires action and the unwavering resolve of every country represented here today. For as President Trump observed yesterday, we are once again confronted "by those who threaten us with chaos, with turmoil and terror", who seek to undermine sovereignty, prosperity and security — all of which the President called the "pillars of peace".

In Eastern Europe, Russia continues to compromise the sovereignty of its neighbours as it seeks to redraw international borders by force. Radical Islamic terrorism continues to beset nations, with barbarous attacks in Barcelona, Paris and London. In the Middle East, the world's leading State sponsor of terrorism continues to flout the spirit of the Iran deal, destabilizing the region and brazenly threatening the security of sovereign nations. And as the world has seen in just the past few days, a depraved regime in North Korea is relentlessly pursuing nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles and now, as the President said, "threatens the entire world with unthinkable loss of human life".

The United States is grateful to see the Security Council unanimously adopt resolutions 2371 (2017) and 2375 (2017), which impose tough new sanctions on the North Korean regime. But to be clear, the United States of America will continue to bring the full range of American power to bear on the regime in Pyongyang. We will continue to marshal economic and diplomatic pressure — ours and from countries across the world — to demand that North Korea abandon its nuclear and ballistic missile programmes. As the President said yesterday, the United States has great strength and patience, but all options are on the table. If we are forced to defend ourselves or our allies, we will do so with military power that is effective and overwhelming. We call on the United Nations and the Security Council to do more to keep the peace — much more — and confront the threat posed by North Korea.

Finally, to keep the peace most effectively, this organ must have the credibility to pursue peace by advancing the cause of human rights. It is no coincidence that some of the most dangerous regimes in the world are also some of the worst abusers of human rights. In Iran, North Korea and other despotic regimes, we see a truth of history borne out once again — those who subvert the freedom of their people at home undermine sovereignty and security abroad.

The United Nations is bound by its Charter to foster international cooperation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. That was the purpose under which the United Nations Human Rights Council was formed, but the truth is the Human Rights Council does not deserve its name. As we look at the membership of the Council today, we see nations that betray those timeless principles upon which the Organization was founded. Today the Human Rights Council actually attracts and welcomes many of the worst human rights violators in the world.

A clear majority of the Human Rights Council members failed to meet even the most basic human rights standards. Cuba — an oppressive regime that has repressed its people and jailed political opponents for more than half a century — sits on the Human Rights Council. Venezuela — a dictatorship that undermines democracy at every turn, imprisons political opponents and, as we speak, is advancing policies that worsen deprivation and poverty and are costing the lives of innocent men, women and children — sits on the Human Rights Council.

The Security Council must reform the Human Rights Council's membership and its operation. As to its operation, I think of what President John F. Kennedy warned more than 50 years ago — that the United Nations must not become "a forum for invective". Unfortunately, today the Human Rights Council has become exactly that, and particularly the Human Rights Council has become a forum for anti-Semitism and invective against Israel.

The Council's agenda item 7 actually singles out Israel for discussion at every single meeting — something no other country must endure. As evidence, the Human Rights Council has adopted more than 70 resolutions condemning Israel, while largely ignoring the world's

worst human rights abusers. It is, as President Trump said yesterday, "a massive source of embarrassment", and we call on the Security Council and the entire Organization to immediately embrace reforms of the membership and practices of the Human Rights Council and end the Council's blatant bias against our cherished ally, Israel.

Under President Trump, the United States of America is firmly committed to the cause of human rights because we are committed to keeping the peace. Keeping the peace requires more than peacekeeping; it requires action and reform, and it also requires a willingness to call out senseless attacks on innocent people around the world. At this very moment, in South-East Asia we see heartbreak and assaults on human rights and innocent civilians that are ultimately endangering the sovereignty and security of the entire region. In recent weeks, the people of my country and the wider world have witnessed a great tragedy unfolding in Burma, with the Rohingya people. Recently, Burmese security forces responded to militant attacks on Government outposts with terrible savagery, burning villages and driving the Rohingya from their homes. The images of the violence and its victims have shocked the American people and decent people all over the world. And now we are witnessing a historic exodus. Over 400,000 Rohingya, including tens of thousands of children, have now been forced to flee from Burma to Bangladesh, with more following every day.

Yesterday, Secretary of State Tillerson discussed Rohingya refugees with Aung San Suu Kyi, and urged the Burmese Government and military to facilitate humanitarian aid and confront the allegations of human rights abuses. While we welcome Suu Kyi's comments that returning refugees have nothing to fear, the United States renews its call on Burma's security forces to end their violence immediately and support diplomatic efforts for a long-term solution. President Trump and I also call on the Security Council and the United Nations to take strong and swift action to bring that crisis to an end and give hope and help to the Rohingya people in their hour of need. Unless the violence is stopped, which justice demands, it will only get worse, and it will sow seeds of hatred and chaos that may well consume the region for generations to come and threaten the peace of us all.

As I said, keeping the peace requires more than peacekeeping; it requires action, courage, conviction. And so the United Nations must be prepared to do more, for as President Trump said yesterday:

> "If the righteous many do not confront the wicked few, then evil will triumph. When decent people and nations become bystanders to history, the forces of destruction only gather power and strength." (*A/72/PV.3, p. 11*)

Let us therefore rededicate ourselves to the mission upon which this organ was founded. The first words of Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations — "to maintain international peace" — must again be our lodestar, our ideal and our aspiration. Through reform of our efforts and reform of this institution, through renewed courage to speak and act whenever and wherever the inalienable rights of innocent people or the peace of the world are at risk, we will create, as our President said, "a more safe and peaceful future for all people".

As the world witnessed yesterday, our President is a man of deep conviction and faith — faith in God and faith in the boundless capacity of peoples and nations founded on peace and justice to improve the world. My prayer today is that this institution might mirror that conviction in renewed ways, in the faith that, as we make every effort to pursue peace, the God of peace will guide us and bless us, today, tomorrow and always, for this generation and our posterity.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Stefan Löfven, Prime Minister of Sweden, to take the floor.

Mr. Löfven (Sweden): I want to thank Prime Minister Dessalegn for inviting us to this very important event. I thank Secretary-General Guterres for his leadership, including his inspiring intervention at the General Assembly yesterday (see A/72/PV.3) and in the Security Council today. I thank as well Chairperson Mahamat and Mr. Ramos-Horta for their briefings.

Few things inspire me more than the energy and enthusiasm, knowledge, will and determination of our younger generations. Zaida Catalán, a Swedish United Nations expert, had all of that. She dedicated her life to helping others. Earlier this year, at the age of 35, she and a fellow expert, Mr. Michael Sharp of the United States, were killed while on a United Nations mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Women and men from countries all over the world have made many sacrifices in the line of United Nations duty. Some have

lost their lives. I would like to take this opportunity, here in the Security Council, to honour Zaida's memory and the memory of all those who have lost their lives in the service of peace. We also wish to offer our deepest sympathies to their families.

The adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and of our pledge to leave no one behind illustrates the potential of multilateral cooperation. The joint resolutions on sustaining peace, adopted by both the Council and the General Assembly, compel us to prevent and address violent conflict.

Those commitments must guide our work. We must do everything in our power to prevent outbreaks of violence, mass atrocities and armed conflict; to ensure that refugees do not risk their lives making unsafe journeys; to ensure that the current levels of humanitarian suffering — the worst humanitarian crisis since the creation of the United Nations — are never experienced again. That is because only people who feel safe and secure will have faith in the future and contribute to the advancement of their societies. Now more than ever, we need to come together for peaceful and sustainable development instead of going at the task alone and increasing tensions and divisions. Identifying, addressing and preventing the risk of conflict must be front and centre of all our efforts.

For seven decades, United Nations peacekeeping has been instrumental to promoting peace and providing the conditions necessary for political solutions. We need the political will, courage and ability to adapt peacekeeping so that it can remain relevant and adequately resourced and serve as a means to support political processes and solutions. That is because achieving and sustaining peace will always require political solutions, no matter how effective our missions are in themselves. Let me mention three dimensions that I believe need to underpin United Nations peacekeeping in the twenty-first century.

First, we must address emerging threats and tackle the root causes of conflict. Drivers of conflicts are often transboundary and complex. Many of the crises that the world is facing have come about not because we failed to see them coming — on the contrary, the signs of exclusion, marginalization, human rights violations and political, social and economic inequality were there — but because we failed to respond early enough or quickly enough. However, prevention means that not only must we choose to heed the warnings when they come, but that we must invest in peaceful societies in order to avoid the drivers of conflict emerging in the first place. We must address the toughest issues and find responses that may need to be unique to each setting, yet broad in scope. A renewed focus on preventing violent conflict and sustaining peace are the expressed priorities of the Secretary-General. We, the Security Council, should whole-heartedly support him in his endeavour.

Let us recognize the role of peacekeeping in that regard. More than 118,000 military, police and civilian personnel — Blue Berets and Blue Helmets — are currently serving in 16 peacekeeping operations, from Haiti in the West to Jammu and Kashmir in the East. We thank the women and men in peacekeeping missions for the work they do every day on our behalf. Peacekeeping and prevention can, should and must go hand in hand.

Secondly, we need stronger partnerships. Combining the efforts of the United Nations for peace with those of regional and subregional organizations is crucial for success. The partnership between the United Nations and the African Union (AU) is of particular importance. I commend the new partnership framework signed earlier this year. The African Union and its member States are assuming an ever-greater responsibility for peace and security. If we want that partnership to achieve its full potential, we must ensure sustainable and predictable financing, as well as clear and clever cooperation on the ground.

I would also like to highlight the importance of the European Union (EU) as a committed and contributing partner to the United Nations. The Treaty on European Union enshrines the core principles of the Charter of the United Nations. I hope that the partnership between the EU and the United Nations can be developed even further. I hope for the same with respect to the trilateral relationship between the EU, the AU and the United Nations.

Thirdly, United Nations peacekeeping should evolve on the basis of evidence and lessons learned. The experience we gain from our contributions can help to improve and develop United Nations missions in order to make them fit for purpose. Seventy years of peacekeeping have taught us about the need for the full, equal and active participation of women. Sweden constantly seeks to increase the number of women taking part. We have so much more to do. We have learned about the need for realistic, flexible and

properly sequenced mandates. The United Nations system is at its best when it works together as one in countries in conflict, using every tool available to ensure lasting peace.

With Sweden's largest current force contribution to the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali, we are seeking to develop our toolbox by focusing on intelligence. Intelligence and information are key to protecting United Nations peacekeepers and civilians alike, and they underpin informed and strategic decisions. We are learning to work smartly and to pool our resources. We have painfully learned that peacekeepers must do all they can in order to protect civilians under imminent threats. Additionally, we have learned that there must be nothing but full adherence to the zero-tolerance policy of the United Nations with respect to sexual exploitation and abuse.

Since 1948, more than 80,000 Swedish women and men — troops, police and civilians — have participated in United Nations peace operations, primarily in Africa but also in other parts of the world. They have worn their United Nations helmets in deserts, dirt, dust and danger. We see their Blue Berets in Cyprus and the Congo. That has come at a price. Yet our commitment to peacekeeping will not falter. It is not weakened despite the tragic loss of Zaida Catalán and many others. Rather, we owe it to them and to humankind to succeed.

I would like to conclude with the words of former Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, a great leader who lost his life while serving us at the United Nations: "Only they who keep their eyes fixed on the far horizon will find the right road."

We all know the right road to take. As national leaders and members of the Council, we must choose peace, invest in peace and deliver peace.

The President: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Paolo Gentiloni Silveri, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy, to take the floor.

Mr. Gentiloni Siiveri (Italy): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this open debate on peacekeeping reform. I also want to thank Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat and Mr. José Ramos-Horta for their briefings, and to commend Ethiopia for resolution 2378 (2017), which we adopted a few minutes ago.

I think that the issue not only involves the role of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security, but also the role and the reputation of the United Nations. The sustaining peace agenda stresses the need for a holistic approach that covers the United Nations pillars of security, human rights and development. Secretary-General Guterres went even further with his vision of the peace continuum, with a firm conviction that long-lasting peace can be pursued only by adopting a multidimensional approach across the whole cycle of peace, from prevention to, when necessary, peacekeeping, and from post-conflict recovery to inclusive national reconciliation and sustainable development processes. We are now called upon to put concrete actions in place so as to effectively implement that approach. As a global security provider, let me highlight Italy's commitments in that regard.

We are very proud to be the primary contributor of Blue Helmets among the Group of Western European and other States, as well as one of the most generous financial supporters. We are committed to current United Nations peacekeeping operations in Lebanon, where we have deployed approximately 1,100 peacekeepers, as well as in Kosovo, Cyprus and Mali. In addition, Italy has provided capabilities to the United Nations Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System in terms of maneuver units that are complemented by the provision of quality training for United Nations peacekeepers, based on highly professional and ethical standards. We deem it essential that a zero-tolerance policy be applied against Blue Helmets who have committed sexual violence. It is not only a matter of fully respecting fundamental human rights, but also one of United Nations credibility.

The implementation of the sustaining peace and peace continuum approaches cannot rely solely on the efforts and commitments of Member States. The Charter of the United Nations also already recognizes the key role of regional organizations, which the Council fully acknowledged as an important resource to provide local solutions to local problems. In that context, let me once again welcome the recent initiative by the Group of Five States for the Sahel and its newly established Force.

The reports and the agreement signed between the Secretary-General and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission constitute a significant step forward and mark the beginning of a strategic partnership between the two organizations, thereby paving the way for a broader approach. Today, African problems are our problems. To concretely ensure effective operational cooperation, we are in favour of

exploring the use of assessed contributions for African Union peacekeeping missions. I would also like to stress that it is important to ensure that the appropriate set of requirements for troop quality, training, equipment and high accountability standards is met.

In that regard, Italy is ready to provide its full support through our Carabinieri and defence forces in countries ranging from Somalia to Afghanistan, Iraq to Libya and in the Sahel, the Arab Gulf, the Balkans and Eastern Europe. Wherever our assistance is required, we spare no effort in capacity-building across the board, from border security to election security and from justice and correction practices to fighting organized crime and trafficking.

We also pay attention to the capacity-building of peacekeepers, so that they can face emerging challenges, such as frequent attacks on cultural heritage. In that regard, let me just quickly remind the Council of our Unite for Heritage Task Force, established in cooperation with UNESCO — an endeavour rooted in our common cultural identity that also resonates with the Council's unanimous adoption of resolution 2347 (2017), on protecting cultural heritage in conflict-affected areas.

We must ensure that the commitments that we have undertaken in support of peacekeeping are effectively implemented. Budgetary and financial considerations are very important aspects. However, we must avoid prioritizing cost considerations over the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions. That should be our main goal if we are to be committed to a long-term solution, as it is a matter that could jeopardize the credibility of the Council. We need to demonstrate to the international community the Council's capacity to rapidly and effectively respond to current and new international challenges and threats to international peace and security. It is not an easy task, but it is our primary duty, as established in the Charter of the United Nations.

The President: I now invite The Right Honourable Mrs. Theresa May, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to take the floor.

Mrs. May (United Kingdom): I thank you, Prime Minister Desalegn, for convening this debate and coordinating resolution 2378 (2017), on an issue of great importance to the United Kingdom. I am pleased to see its unanimous adoption. I thank our briefers — Secretary-General Guterres, His Excellency Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat and His Excellency Mr. José Ramos-Horta.

The Secretary-General has made the reform of the United Nations approach to peace and security a priority, and rightly so. The Security Council has a solemn responsibility that we must uphold. The Secretary-General has called for the United Nations to become more coordinated in its approach to conflict, while seeking to prevent outbreaks of violence before we are forced to send in peacekeepers. I share the Secretary-General's vision for sustaining peace and fully support the steps he is taking to deliver it.

For our peacekeepers to succeed, we must have a clear political strategy for resolving conflicts. For no matter how bravely our peacekeepers fulfil their mandate, peace will come about only when we get the politics of conflict right. I am therefore encouraged that resolution 2378 (2017) recognizes the vital political role of the Council and of the Secretary-General's good offices in resolving conflict.

However, politics do not stop with the peacekeeping mission on the ground. Just like peacekeepers, the Council must be willing and capable of discharging its duty. Too often we are in deadlock and unable to act. Too often we cannot agree to give a strong message of condemnation when our resolutions are not implemented by States. The Council's own performance in responding to the situation in South Sudan, where there has been conflict for five out of the six years the country has existed, has been found wanting. Therefore, just as we want to monitor the performances of our peacekeeping missions, we should monitor our own performance too.

The United Kingdom is proud to be a champion of peacekeeping reform. In September 2016, in London, we held the United Nations Peacekeeping Defence Ministerial Meeting, a landmark event with a communiqué signed by 64 countries, which set out a path to better peacekeeping. As we look ahead to the next such meeting, to be held in Vancouver in two months' time, we must concentrate on delivering the vision we agreed upon in London and continue the progress made since the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations issued its report (see S/2015/446), two years ago. We want to see better planning of peacekeeping missions, more pledges of the personnel and equipment that the United Nations needs, and stronger performance by peacekeepers on the ground.

I am delighted to see those points reflected in this resolution, and will cover each of them in turn.

First, with regard to better planning, to plan our missions effectively, we must be clear-sighted as to what they are there to achieve so that we know when we are making progress and when it is time for the mission to go. That requires the different parts of the United Nations — peace and security, development and humanitarian — to work as one to build a shared understanding of the situation and coordinate our efforts to resolve it. When the circumstances on the ground change, we must be agile in reviewing our missions and adapting them quickly.

Secondly, with regard to more pledges, collectively we have generated over 80 new pledges of personnel and capability in the past two years. That is fantastic, but pledging is only the first step. We must all turn those pledges into troops on the ground. In early July, United Kingdom troops officially opened a field hospital in Bentiu, South Sudan. In doing so, I am proud that delivered on our pledge to double the number of British forces deployed in United Nations missions. That required patient and determined effort, delivered hand in hand with our colleagues in the United Nations.

Pledges are crucial so that the United Nations can always deploy troops on basis of who is best for the job, not just who is available for the job. The quicker that we all turn those pledges from words spoken around a table into real women and men on the ground, the quicker we realize that goal. I am glad that this resolution reinforces that.

Work is also under way to improve strategic force-generation. As we reform peacekeeping into just mandates, we need to be sure that we have the right troops with the right capabilities at hand and ready to deploy. That is why the United Kingdom and France will hold a debate on this very issue next month.

I am also pleased that the resolution recognizes the vital role that women play in peacekeeping, as well as our commitment to double the number of women serving in peacekeeping by 2020. At the London Ministerial Meeting, we reaffirmed that goal and agreed that 15 per cent of all military observer and staff officer roles should be filled by women.

Thirdly, with regard to stronger performance, I salute what United Nations peacekeepers have achieved in often horribly difficult circumstances, and I pay tribute to those who have lost their lives. We ask a lot of them. We must give them every chance to succeed through high-quality training, functioning equipment and capable and decisive leadership. But when those standards are not met, we must also have accountability. The huge contribution made during peacekeeping's 70-year history is undermined with every failure to protect civilians and every instance of sexual exploitation and abuse. This resolution breaks ground by calling for the collection of performance data so we can better monitor peacekeeping performance and evaluate success. Let me be very clear: sexual exploitation and abuse cannot continue to happen. We fully support the Secretary-General's zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse and the Council's resolution 2272 (2016). That is why I joined the Secretary-General's circle of leadership and the United Kingdom signed the Voluntary Compact against Sexual Exploitation and Abuse.

I would like to conclude by recognizing the importance of the partnership between the United Nations and the African Union (AU) in delivering lasting peace on the African continent. A secure funding arrangement for African Union-led operations can help us to achieve that goal. Resolution 2320 (2016) and the African Union's commitment to fund 25 per cent of AU peace-support operations provide a basis for us to work towards part funding on a case by case basis by the United Nations. I welcome further discussion to establish the role of the Council in deploying and ending peace operations and ensuring that we achieve common performance, conduct and financial management standards across all United Nations and AU operations. We must also find a creative solution to ensure funding for the African Union Mission in Somalia on secure basis, beyond 2018. All options should be on the table so that the Council can make an informed decision that is acceptable to all.

I thank all delegations for the vital contribution their countries have made to United Nations peacekeeping. I again thank Ethiopia for organizing this debate, and our briefers for addressing it. Together we can deliver better peacekeeping, and this resolution is an important step in that direction.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of China.

Mr. Wang Yi (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, allow me to thank Ethiopia for initiating today's

debate. I also thank Secretary-General Guterres, Chairperson Faki Mahamat and Chair Ramos-Horta for their briefings.

The Chinese delegation welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2378 (2017). United Nations peacekeeping operations are facing many new challenges and problems. China supports reasonable and necessary reform to make peacekeeping operations better able to fulfil their mandates. In that connection, we would like to make the following points.

First, the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations are the cornerstone of peacekeeping. Basic norms governing international relations, such as sovereign equality, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and the peaceful settlement of disputes, together with the guiding principles for peacekeeping operations arising therefrom, must always be strictly observed.

Secondly, the pursuit of a political settlement should remain central to peacekeeping. The political and peaceful settlement of disputes is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Peacekeeping operations should always serve that objective and follow sound planning in the light of the actual circumstances of host countries.

Thirdly, the establishment of a solid partnership is fundamental to peacekeeping. It is necessary to motivate host countries and troop- and fund-contributing countries, fully leverage the role of regional and subregional organizations, and forge closer partnerships.

Fourthly, the reform should facilitate sustainable development, which is vital to peacekeeping. It is important that peacekeeping reform help foster a safe and stable environment in host countries that is conducive to sustainable development and the elimination of poverty and other root causes of conflict.

In recent years, some African countries have encountered challenges in their efforts to maintain national peace and security. The international community, and the United Nations in particular, should comprehensively enhance peacekeeping cooperation with the African Union (AU). We believe that efforts must be focused on the following aspects.

First, we must enhance political support. We must support African countries in resolving African problems independently and in an African way. We must also intensify cooperation between the United Nations and the AU in conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict reconstruction.

Secondly, we must strengthen support for capacity-building. In response to the African Union's aspirations and needs, the United Nations must help with capacity-building and assist the AU in establishing permanent forces, rapid response forces and an early-warning mechanism.

Thirdly, we need to scale up financial support. China supports the African Union's proposal on financing for peacekeeping and calls upon the Security Council to come up with a concrete method, as soon as possible, to support independent AU peacekeeping operations in accordance with resolutions 2320 (2016) and 2378 (2017).

China has always firmly supported, and actively participated in, United Nations peacekeeping operations. China is a major troop-contributor and the second-largest financial contributor. We have deployed approximately 35,000 troops and 2,700 police to peacekeeping operations. At the 2015 leaders' summit on United Nations peacekeeping, President Xi Jinping put forth new proposals to strengthen peacekeeping operations and announced a host of important measures that China would take to support peacekeeping operations. We Chinese always honour our promises. China has formed an 8,000-strong standby peacekeeping force and a permanent peacekeeping police unit, provided training to over 800 peacekeepers from the United Nations and relevant countries, and has deployed its first helicopter unit for United Nations peacekeeping operations in Africa. China is actively disbursing $100 million in military assistance to the AU. We have identified support for peacekeeping operations as a priority for the China-United Nations Peace and Development Fund.

Peace is hard to achieve and even harder to keep. As a permanent member of the Security Council and the largest developing country, China knows full-well the value of peace. We will continue to work with other peace-loving nations to give concrete support to United Nations peacekeeping operations and to African countries. Together let us strive for lasting peace on our planet.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan.

Mr. Abdrakhmanov (Kazakhstan): I congratulate Ethiopia on having assumed the presidency of the Council for this month and echo others in welcoming Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn as President during this important debate. I would also like to thank Secretary-General Guterres; the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat; and President Ramos-Horta for their insights in connection with a new trajectory for United Nations peacekeeping.

This new road map of proposed reforms, aimed at responding effectively to volatile and multiple old and new conflicts, will promote the three founding pillars of peace, development and human rights, with politics and prevention as key priorities.

Kazakhstan fully supports the significant shift from conflict resolution to prevention and sustaining peace, together with structural changes and a new configuration of United Nations entities. These suggested changes are aimed at bringing about better working methods and a better culture and ethos than those prevailing throughout the peacekeeping chain from Headquarters to the field.

The use of United Nations diplomacy, mediation and good offices, in partnership with the efforts of regional organizations such as the African Union, the European Union, the Organization of American States, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Collective Security Treaty Organization and the Arab League, will have far-reaching effects.

Kazakhstan is of the view that the new reforms must ensure that the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter, are upheld together with that of statehood, which must be preserved. At the same time, States are obliged to fulfil their legal, moral and political responsibility to ensure the protection of civilians.

New peacekeeping and peacebuilding approaches require clear and achievable mandates, with qualified staff, equipment and resources for peacebuilding work. Moving away from mere military arrangements, the focus has to be directed towards more coherent programmes and new partnerships to reduce costs and lower the overhead expenditures of peacekeeping operations through intergovernmental support. The Council should work closely with the Peacebuilding Commission and the Peacebuilding Fund for sustained, predictable long-term funding, so that new reforms can take hold in a context of a strengthened security-development nexus.

The Security Council and the Secretariat must interact with the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations system and other partners, including regional organizations, for more informed decision-making. Other important stakeholders in this process are international and national partners, including humanitarian aid agencies and civil society.

The deployment of regional forces has proved effective, as illustrated by the hybrid missions of the United Nations and the African Union. Successful examples include the Multinational Joint Task Force, the African Union Mission in Somalia and the Regional Protection Force, because of their familiarity with the local terrain and militia tactics. Such cooperation should be strengthened on many other fronts, as indicated in the 19 April 2017 United Nations-AU partnership agreement. Collaboration with regional structures also facilitates concerted action against terrorism, organized crime, human trafficking and refugee and migration flows.

Reforms also mean holding United Nations staff accountable to the highest standards of integrity and discipline so as to prevent misconduct. In this regard, the zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse must be strictly enforced. To demonstrate its national commitment to this goal, Kazakhstan has endorsed and signed the Global Compact.

The use of modern technologies, reconnaissance assets and forces in peacekeeping missions is necessary to improve the security and safety of United Nations personnel, humanitarian actors and civilians. However, judicial and legal considerations have to be taken into account.

Simultaneously, integrating gender- and youth-sensitive analyses, as well as encouraging both groups in the context of the planning, implementing, evaluating and mission drawdown of all operations, will definitely yield successful results. More women need to be deployed in peacekeeping operations, with gender expertise in every mission component.

Kazakhstan is highly committed to peacekeeping and will continue to send well-qualified military

observers, augmenting its contribution annually. Kazakhstan is currently preparing its peacekeeping unit, building upon the valuable experience gained during Operation Iraqi Freedom, a decade ago. As an emerging troop-contributing country, we are constantly increasing our level of preparedness, as confirmed by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

Kazakhstan has established its own peacekeeping training centre, KAZCENT, which has already been acknowledged as meeting international norms. We conduct courses on a regional basis and will strive to obtain the status of a regional centre. In that connection, may I take this opportunity to thank all of our partners for the tremendous support we are receiving.

Finally, as Kazakhstan prepares for greater practical engagement in the context of United Nations peacekeeping, not only do we fully endorse the proposed reforms, but we also commit to implementing them in cooperation with the United Nations and other stakeholders so as to achieve all that we envision.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs of France.

Mr. Le Drian (France) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I should like to thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for having convened this debate on an issue that you know to be so important to my country. The issue of peacekeeping reform comes in response to two requirements that are more important than ever before: on the one hand, the need for results, so as to respond to the growing complexity of crises and the expectations of peoples, and, on the other, the need for resources in a world in which they are limited and in which effectiveness is no longer just an option but an imperative.

This twofold requirement can be seen in all areas of public action, but the Charter of the United Nations conferred upon us a unique responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This responsibility creates immense expectations and requires that we commit to ceaselessly analysing our actions; our capacity to address crises; our successes, because they do exist; and our limitations.

Here I will not resort to facile criticisms of peacekeeping to the effect that it is useless, ineffective and too costly, for we must not overlook the considerable progress that has been made in recent years or the reality that United Nations peacekeeping operations often are the sole guarantors of a minimum level of security and a minimum level of civilian protection.

Here I wish to pay tribute to the 120,000 military, police and civilians who are deployed throughout the world in difficult theatres of operations and who daily serve on our behalf as messengers and actors for peace.

However, we must also pay attention to criticism. We must not underestimate it; it must be our compass for tirelessly seeking better responses. It is this constructive criticism exercise that must enable us to move towards more effective and efficient peacekeeping, strengthen what we can do better, change what we can do differently and stop what we do not know how to do.

It can be difficult, in certain theatres, to see an end to peacekeeping operations. The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been deployed in that country for 18 years, and prospects for withdrawal remain remote. In South Sudan, the United Nations Mission in South Sudan, which was created to support the emergence of the youngest State in the world, now faces a civil war and a humanitarian crisis that it is having great difficulting addressing. In Mali, the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali, which was deployed to stabilize a country facing terrorist threats, has the sad record of being the deadliest United Nations operation.

This simple list shows the limits that we have reached. The United Nations has become the answer to all ills, and it is expected to deal with, at the lowest cost possible, the full spectrum of crises and ensure the protection of civilians, stabilization, security, justice, reintegration, human rights, humanitarian assistance and support for the political process. This is no longer tenable.

The other obstacle is the temptation to substitute, in cases where peacekeeping has been established by importing solutions from outside. We thought that by deploying 10,000 or so soldiers in support of a peace agreement we could settle conflicts for good. We have now seen the limitations of that approach in South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A massive peacekeeper presence no longer guarantees that we will be able to have a decisive influence on the choices of the stakeholders involved in a crisis or conflict. With that in mind, I believe that it is time to update our way of thinking and consider two avenues.

First, we must strengthen States' capacities, also known as reforming the security sector. The fact that it is so often discussed without actually being accomplished has made the term something of a bogeyman. However, if supported by a credible political process, it is key to achieving sustainable security. We must acknowledge that we have not succeeded in that area. We must continue to reflect on it and come up with new responses so as to better engage and involve host countries and those that are the most affected in taking charge of their own security. That was what we were hoping for in supporting the initiative of the Group of Five for the Sahel (G-5 Sahel), five States that are dealing with the threat of terrorism and every kind of trafficking and that have decided to overcome their differences, pool their limited resources, coordinate their efforts and take joint action. They are also some of the poorest countries in the world, facing a threat that concerns us all. We therefore have a collective responsibility to support them. That is the first avenue — strengthening State capacities.

The second concerns more generally the importance of finding the tools best adapted to evolving threats and complex crises, such as President Macky Sall referred to earlier. Today in Mali we are dealing with a paradox. On the one hand, we have the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), established under Chapter VII, which has considerable resources but no mandate to combat terrorism, for reasons with which we are familiar. On the other hand, there is the Force conjointe du G5 Sahel, which has a mandate to counter terrorism but few if any resources, and must plead for support from its partners without any guarantees or visibility. That is not good enough, and if granting MINUSMA a counter-terrorism mandate is not the solution, we must come up with something else.

Of course, as has been pointed out several times, the United Nations does not have a monopoly on crisis management. The European Union and the African Union and its subregional organizations have become key players in settling crises. We must make better use of the added value of all of them to ensure a coordinated, committed response. We must reinvent the linkages among those tools. In that regard, I can only echo the Secretary-General's analysis and the paths that he highlighted in his opening address to the General Assembly (see A/72/PV.3). We must all focus on our core tasks and, to that end, we must find ways to help our regional partners become more effective.

In the past 12 months the United Nations and the African Union have worked hard to come up with meaningful options for an African response to the security challenges facing the continent. Some issues, including the critical one of financing, are still pending and must be refined. I can hear the reluctance and even hostility to this on the part of some, but I firmly believe that that is where the future lies. I am aware of the major efforts that the African Union has undertaken, and France stands ready to work together with our African partners to fulfil the commitments made in the Security Council, when the time comes.

I would like to assure the Council of France's support for its efforts regarding the topic that brings us together today. France will remain committed to working for more effective peacekeeping for the benefit of the world's most vulnerable peoples.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): At the outset, I would like to express our condolences to the Government and the people of Mexico for the destruction and loss of human life caused by the terrible earthquakes.

I would also like to thank the Secretary-General, the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, and the Chairperson of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations for their briefings on today's topic. We welcome Ethiopia's initiative in holding a meeting on reforming United Nations peacekeeping.

In June 2014, the Russian Federation, as President of the Security Council that month, held an open debate on the same subject (see S/PV.7196). Even then it was evident that United Nations peacekeeping activities needed to adapt to present-day and international realities. Since that time, a great deal of work has been done. We have had reports from the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations and several reports by the Secretary-General, and reform of the peacebuilding architecture is under way. However, there are new tasks in the area of peacekeeping that will require comprehensive discussion both among Member States and in the Secretariat, with the aim of developing consistent and balanced approaches, dealing with the fragmented nature of the political and

legal foundations, crafting corresponding doctrines and the timely drafting normative documents based on the analysis of accumulated experience.

Russia's principal position is that to settle any conflict we must first use political methods with an emphasis on national dialogue, and that helping to establish the right conditions for that should be at the forefront of peacekeeping operations. The first, founding principle of United Nations peacekeeping is as valid as it has always been — that Blue Helmets can be deployed only with the consent of the parties to a conflict.

The second pillar of United Nations peacekeeping operations is impartiality. It is absolutely unacceptable for peacekeepers to side with any party to a conflict under any pretext. Our attitude to strengthening the mandates of peacekeeping missions is one of extreme caution. Our peacekeepers can use force only in self-defence and to protect their mandate. The experience of giving peacekeepers additional authority, for example in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mali, has so far not convinced us that the results on the ground justify the increased casualties among peacekeepers in operations involving force. If we are to retain the option of robust mandates, they should be extremely carefully calibrated to specific situations.

We welcome the ongoing thought process in the Secretariat with regard to peacekeeping reform. The Secretary-General has a certain degree of leeway in administrative decisions, including on organizational changes in the structure of the Secretariat and United Nations missions. However, where the political aspects of peacekeeping are concerned, any changes must be approved by the relevant intergovernmental body, and that applies particularly to sensitive issues touching on State sovereignty. A recent trend, actively promoted by the Secretariat and a support group from among certain States, is that of so-called intelligence in peacekeeping. Of course, peacekeeping operations consist first and foremost of military units deployed in regions where there are security threats, and in that case they certainly cannot manage without appropriate reconnaissance of the area, but even here there remains the important question of how the information received will be controlled and its confidentiality maintained.

However, we will not accept any attempts to interpret such intelligence broadly or apply it flexibly. Any transfer of data regarding the operational activities of any peacekeeping mission can occur only with the consent of the host Government, and only for the clearly defined, limited, legitimate goals of ensuring the security of peacekeepers and the protection of civilians, an approach endorsed by Member States when they approved the report (A/70/19) of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. We believe that it would be unacceptable to interpret arbitrarily the mandates given by Member States to the Secretariat. It would undermine the authority of the United Nations and have an adverse impact on the conduct of peacekeeping operations.

One very important factor in the maintenance of international peace and security is a genuine partnership among the members of the international community. We welcome the efforts of the regional and subregional organizations that are operating in areas under their jurisdiction in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. We note the significant achievements of the African Union in establishing a continent-wide architecture for peace and security. We firmly believe that only the proactive efforts of Africans themselves will make it possible to resolve conflicts on the continent.

We call on all States to help to ensure that African countries play a principal role in determining ways to establish peace and security, in line with the principle that they themselves have established of African solutions to African issues. African countries not only have to deal with domestic problems and conflict but are also facing an unprecedented surge in terrorist activity that has increased sharply as a result of adventurist military actions in the Middle East and North Africa.

The flood of arms and munitions flowing through Libya southward to Mali, the Niger and Chad has created numerous terrorist threats in the Sahara-Sahel region. The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant has ramped up its cooperation with Boko Haram and Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb. In northern Mali and the Niger, Al-Mourabitoun has launched activities in an attempt to unite every extremist group in Mali, the Niger and Mauritania. Al-Shabaab remains active in Somalia.

Russia has continued to advocate for more effective assistance to African countries in building their capacity to combat terrorism. We stand ready to share our experience in counter-terrorism with our African partners. Hundreds of African peacekeepers and police are trained every year in Russian educational facilities.

African countries are raising the question of material and financial assistance for their efforts in maintaining international peace and security, including as part of the partnership between the United Nations and the African Union, and we are ready to work to arrive at mutually acceptable agreements.

There are also prospects for cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), an opportunity predicated on the Russian initiative to establish a United Nations mission in south-eastern Ukraine to protect the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine, with the goal of facilitating strict and full implementation of the Minsk agreements on resolving the crisis in Ukraine. As we know, those agreements were approved under the Council's unanimous adoption of resolution 2202 (2015), and it would not be a good idea to retreat from them.

Peacekeeping is one of the key areas of United Nations activities and has enormous practical significance for the lives of millions of people. Every Member State contributes to it, particularly the troop-contributing countries. We call for all shared issues pertaining to peacekeeping to be discussed in forums dedicated to them, such as the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Fifth Committee. I believe that synergistic efforts at the General Assembly and Security Council will enable us to better preserve the universal nature and unique legitimacy of United Nations peacekeeping.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan.

Mr. Kono (Japan): It is a great pleasure for me to be here in the Security Council today to discuss the challenges facing United Nations peacekeeping and its reform. I would like to pay tribute to His Excellency Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, for his initiative in hosting today's meeting, and to His Excellency Secretary-General António Guterres for his leadership of United Nations peacekeeping reform.

Peacekeeping is a noble and lofty effort and one that the United Nations has led for decades in order to maintain international peace and security. Under the banner of contributing proactively to that goal, Japan has made every effort to achieve peace and stability in the international community, and United Nations peacekeeping has unquestionably been an indispensable part of our efforts. In 2015, we enacted a series of laws on peace and security to enable our country to further contribute to the diverse activities of United Nations peacekeeping. This year also marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of our International Peace Cooperation Act. During the past quarter century, Japan has dispatched more than 12,500 personnel to 27 missions, including in Cambodia, the Golan Heights, Timor-Leste and Haiti. Most recently, in the longest deployment period to date for Japanese peacekeepers, we sent engineering units to the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) for five years. They repaired approximately 260 kilometres of roads and developed 500,000 square metres of land. Japan will continue to dispatch staff officers to UNMISS headquarters and contribute to establishing peace and stability in South Sudan.

With regard to today's topic of United Nations peacekeeping reform, Japan fully supports implementing and following up on reform efforts with the aim of making United Nations peacekeeping more effective and efficient. Resolution 2378 (2017), which we adopted today, will be a powerful engine for advancing our reform efforts, and one that Japan strongly supports and will work to implement. Among the many areas requiring reform, I would like to emphasize the importance of training and building the capacity of United Nations peacekeepers. Well-trained and skilled peacekeepers are essential to ensuring effective and efficient peacekeeping operations, and we need to fill the gap between the demands on the ground and peacekeepers' current capabilities and equipment. Japan has been a strong United Nations partner in developing the United Nations Project for African Rapid Deployment of Engineering Capabilities, which has been conducted in Kenya since 2015. Under that partnership, some 80 Japanese Self-Defence Forces personnel have been dispatched as instructors to train 130 engineering service members from five East African countries.

Since more than half of United Nations peacekeeping missions are deployed in Africa, we believe that cooperation between them and African Union peace support operations is critical. Japan will continue to promote human resources development for social stability in Africa, which is one of the priority areas of the Nairobi Declaration of the sixth Tokyo International Conference on African Development. In partnership with the United Nations and major troop-contributing countries of Asia and Africa, Japan will

further enhance capacity-building in the countries of the Indo-Pacific region. I would also like to stress that it is important for the United Nations and its Member States to coordinate their capacity-building activities in a coherent manner. At a meeting that Japan hosted last month, in which officials from more than 30 countries participated, the need for such coherence in coordination was widely recognized.

The Secretary-General's report on a mechanism to fill the gap between force generation and capabilities will be submitted to the Security Council within 90 days of today's adoption of resolution 2378 (2017). I hope its recommendations will be based on best practices, including the Project for African Rapid Deployment of Engineering Capabilities. We are committed to further discussion, based on that report.

I would also like to emphasize the importance of the role of women in peacekeeping and of the development of human resources among the young people who represent our future. It is women and children who are most affected and hurt by conflict, and female peacekeepers can provide them with the appropriate support and address their specific needs. Women are indispensable to peacekeeping, and Japan will host an outreach seminar next month in Tokyo to promote efforts to appoint more senior women to mission leadership positions. We also aim to expand the number of civilians contributing to peacekeeping by enhancing training for young people.

Japan will continue to contribute proactively to peacekeeping activities, and as a member of the Security Council, we will take an active part in the discussions of United Nations peacekeeping reform and coordinate closely with other member States, as well as the United Nations as a whole, with the aim of achieving more effective, efficient and agile United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Uruguay.

Mr. Loedel (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): First of all, Uruguay expresses its solidarity with all those countries that in recent days have fallen victim to violent climatic events — including Mexico, which suffered a second earthquake yesterday that caused death and destruction.

I would like to thank the Ethiopian presidency, in particular the Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn, for convening this timely and important debate on the process of reform of United Nations peacekeeping operations. I also welcome the open and transparent way with which Ethiopia conducted the negotiations for the adoption of a resolution as important as that adopted today (resolution 2378 (2017)).

I welcome the statement by the Secretary-General, and I thank him for the clarity of the concepts contained therein, which bring the vision of the Secretariat on this issue of great importance to the membership.

Similarly, we thank the Chairperson of the African Union Commission and the representative of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations for their briefings.

Allow me to reaffirm once more the commitment of my country to peacekeeping operations, a commitment that was made even before they were called peacekeeping operations. Despite its small population, Uruguay has deployed more than 43,800 personnel in its extensive history as a contributor of contingents and police in more than 20 operations around the world. Today the contribution of Uruguayan troops places our country among the major contributors in the Americas and among the top 20 in the world. That decades-long effort has provided our country with very rich experience in peacekeeping operations, especially bearing in mind that more than 80 per cent of our generals, more than 70 per cent of officers and 70 per cent of our troops have already participated in such operations.

Our country has followed the evolution of peacekeeping operations in the debate and on the ground. As an elected member of the Security Council, we take this opportunity to state Uruguay's support of the reform process, whose objective is to make peacekeeping operations more efficient and effective, and to ensure that they can continue to fulfil the mandates for which they were designed.

Peacekeeping operations continue to be the most efficient and economic way that the international community has to contribute to peace. Therefore, we should be conscious that budgetary decisions and policies must always go together, so as to prevent one or the other from rendering a mandate non-viable. In that regard, I should like to share some considerations that are central to my country at a time when there is talk of reforming the process. They reflect the national

position, which we have systemically made known and defended during our 21 months in the Council.

First, we believe that there are two documents that constitute the absolute starting point of the current reform process. Those are the report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (see S/2015/446) and the subsequent report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the recommendations (S/2015/682). The contents of both documents remain valid and current. Although there has been progress in the implementation of the recommendations contained therein, much remains to be done, bearing in mind above all that the way forward should be based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the basic principles of peacekeeping.

Secondly, we believe that the success of a peacekeeping operation depends, to a great extent, on the plans made by four parties with shared responsibility, namely, the Security Council, the States or parties in control of the territory in question, the troop- and police-contributing countries, and the Secretariat. The Council must remain united when agreeing on political strategies that allow for the design of operations that encourage national actors in conflict to make real commitments to lasting and peaceful political solutions. That must be in addition to more flexible and adaptable operations, with clear mandates based in real and appropriate priorities and resources. There have been improvements in those areas, but they are insufficient.

Once an operation is deployed with a valid mandate, the Council has the responsibility to demand and obtain from the host States full respect and compliance with the terms agreed in the status-of-forces agreements. Those documents guarantee the protection of the personnel that a country voluntarily contributes, and ensure the functionality of the operation. We must prevent any State, least of all a State that is part of an operation, from obstructing missions established by the Council.

As a historical troop-contributing country, Uruguay attaches particular importance to the responsibilities of troop- and police-contributing countries, with the understanding that they are the ones active in the field and the ones who should implement the mandates. In that regard, the training of what in our country is called "the peace worker of the twenty-first century" is essential, that is, training in the complexity of the tasks to carry out the whole of the mandate. That includes avoiding the absence of command, avoiding refusal to obey orders, avoiding the failure to protect civilians, or insufficient equipment, to mention some of the issues that should not be tolerated.

We have seen more than we would wish of that, in particular when it comes to protecting civilians in pressing situations. I am not going to relate the national position on this issue now, because it is well known and respected. But I would like to emphasize the contribution of the Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians to the reform process, given that they refer to efficiency in the protection of civilians derived from training and conduct in the field and accountability.

As for the Secretariat, its role is decisive in terms of guidance and recommendations, its capacity to bring together basic and higher criteria regarding the operation and fulfilment of the mandates, and the determination of the reconfiguration needs of the missions. The recent budget and staff cuts force Uruguay to reaffirm that any reconfiguration should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis and with the full evaluation of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

Thirdly, I would like to relate our position on the evolution of the reform process. We believe that the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34) has an important contribution to make, as do the Fifth Committee, the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, and the Secretariat. We believe that we must begin to overcome the rivalry between bodies or committees, which slows the process, since each one has specific tasks that, when summed up, make a positive contribution. We understand that the efforts of the Secretary-General point to this in his initiative to reform the peace and security architecture of the Organization.

I wanted to make an express reference to the C-34, since our country has consistently defended its work, for it carries out substantial and relevant work that, in our view, deserves special mention, in particular that having to do with consideration of the recommendations of the reports of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations and of the Secretary-General.

Finally, I wish to speak on how to ensure the implementation and follow-up of the reform. The resolution we adopted today includes elements that will allow the Council to be more active, in particular through the consideration of reports of the Secretary-

General on progress made, as well as the holding of open annual debates. We applaud these elements.

In conclusion, reaffirming the ongoing and unchanged commitment of Uruguay, I wish to recall that without making systematic the participation of women, peacekeeping operations will be unable to achieve optimal efficiency or success.

The President: I now I give the floor to the representative of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

Mr. Llorentty Solíz (Plurinational State of Bolivia) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, I regret that our Minister for Foreign Affairs had to leave unexpectedly last night and could not be here today. In any case, Bolivia congratulates the Ethiopian presidency for having organized this debate. Bolivia not only voted in favour of resolution 2378 (2017), adopted today, but we co-sponsored it as well.

Also, as you have expressed, Mr. President, the Government and the people of Bolivia convey their deep sorrow and offer condolences to the Government and the people of Mexico for the dead and injured as a result of yesterday's earthquake. We extend that sentiment as well to our brothers and sisters in the Caribbean and in the United States who have suffered the consequences of terrible hurricanes in recent days.

Bolivia appreciates the statement by the Secretary-General, in addition to the reports of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission and the Chair of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations.

Two years ago, the United Nations received the report and recommendations of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (see S/2015/446). Generally, it examines the different environments and tasks that such operations are currently facing, and its approach enables the identification of different priorities and measures to strengthen them in order to create a coherent and adaptable system to deal with the new conflict and post-conflict situations.

We also received the recommendations of the former Secretary-General, who, in his report of 2 September 2015 (S/2015/682) urges the consolidation of a coherent and viable reform in peace operations so as to make them more effective, more nimble and more accountable to the countries and people they help. The report states that reform must focus on three pillars: prevention and mediation, closer regional and global partnerships, and new ways of planning and carrying out peace operations.

Bolivia champions dialogue, negotiation and peaceful conflict-settlement mechanisms. Bolivia affirms that a preventive approach, in the framework of a case-by-case study of the context of each conflict, is essential for an adequate design of mandates, whatever their nature, in strict respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, while promoting their national ownership and without using such operations as tools for intervention.

On the other hand, in order to prevent conflicts, it is crucial to strengthen dialogue, negotiation and collaboration with regional and subregional partners. This is reflected, for example, in the concerted efforts of the African Union, through its Peace and Security Council, and subregional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States and the Economic Community of Central African States, among others. Those efforts have led to significant progress in conflict prevention. Such efforts become more viable when subregional and regional organizations and the United Nations share a common understanding of a crisis and a unified approach for its resolution.

In that regard, we must take into account all possible support modalities for the financing of peace operations in a sustained, predictable and flexible manner, in accordance with resolution 2320 (2016). Those modalities should also be evaluated and revised in a way that would grant greater autonomy to the United Nations vis-à-vis those countries making higher contributions, since that factor could potentially be used to undermine the very goals and purposes of the missions. In that sense, mandates must be clear and must match the reality on the ground. They must be planned according to the objectives they aim to achieve, and there must be adequate staffing that is properly trained and equipped.

It is not possible to achieve the objectives solely through budgetary adjustments that do not necessarily match the reality on the ground, and without consulting with the host country. In many cases, the countries that can make greater contributions also have a greater historical debt to the countries in which the missions are deployed. We believe that a joint strategic assessment at the time of authorizing peace missions between the African Union and the United Nations should include, among other considerations, the financial consequences

of the deployment of such missions, and should be respected and implemented.

Likewise, in the context of peacebuilding, it is imperative to comply with the implementation of the women and peace and security agenda, in line with resolution 1325 (2000). The participation of women in peace processes must be underscored, ensured and promoted through an active role in prevention, mediation, negotiation and dialogue, in order to reach solutions on an equal footing, including in post-conflict reconstruction, through women's economic, social and cultural reintegration. Equally, priority must be given to the inclusion of an equitable number of women in the field of peace operations.

With regard to sexual violence in conflict, we see with great concern that this scourge leaves victims at all levels of society. In war and armed conflict, it has always resulted in devastating consequences for humankind. Bolivia reiterates its support for and commitment to the Secretary-General's zero-tolerance policy. We also commend and support his comprehensive initiatives and his programme of action against sexual exploitation and abuse.

Bolivia reaffirms its support for and commitment to peace operations and appreciates the work of United Nations personnel, as well as personnel from troop- and police contributing countries — men and women who risk their lives every day in order to consolidate a lasting and sustainable peace, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is not our intention to shift the General Assembly's general debate to the Security Council, but the United States delegation has brought up some themes to which my delegation believes it must respond. It spoke of the current composition of the Human Rights Council. It is no coincidence that the United States is challenging the composition of the Human Rights Council, as it is unable to control it. I would like to call for a sincere debate on the same terms for the reform the Security Council — to reform it and to ensure that there is the full and active participation of many regions that are unfortunately excluded from the Council by its current composition.

Similarly, we believe that one of the primary threats to multilateralism and to the agreements reached by the United Nations is unilateralism. This morning, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries — which is made up of 120 Members of the Organization, that is, almost two thirds of membership of the United Nations, which has called for the reform of the Council — approved the New York political declaration. Allow me to read out two paragraphs from the declaration that touch upon the statement made by the United States delegation.

The Ministers for Foreign Relations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries

(*spoke in English*)

> "reaffirm their opposition to unilateralism and unilateral coercive measures imposed by certain States, including those of an economic, financial or trade nature not in accordance with international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the norms and the principles governing peaceful relations among States, which can lead to the erosion and violation of the United Nations Charter, international law and human rights, the use and threat of use of force" — let me repeat that — "the use threat of use of force and pressure and coercive measures as a means to achieving their national policy objectives, including those measures used as tools for political, economic and financial pressure against any country, in particular against developing countries".

They further express their

> "concern at the continued imposition of such measures, which hindered the well-being of populations of the affected countries and that create obstacles to the full realization of their human rights".

I would like to read out another paragraph:

> "the Ministers declare to reaffirm their determination to refrain from recognizing, adopting or implementing extraterritorial or unilateral coercive measures or laws, including unilateral economic sanctions, other intimidating measures and arbitrary travel restrictions, that seek to exert pressure on non-aligned countries — threatening their sovereignty and independence, and their freedom of trade and investment — and to prevent them from exercising their right to decide, by their own free will, their own political, economic and social systems, where such measures or laws constitute flagrant violations of the Charter, international law, particularly the principles of non-intervention, self-determination, and independence of the States subject to such

practices, and the multilateral trading system as well as the norms and principles governing friendly relations among States, and in this regard oppose and condemn these measures or laws and their continued application, persevere with efforts to effectively reverse them and urge other States to do likewise, as called for by the General Assembly and other United Nations organs, and request States applying these measures or laws to revoke them fully and immediately".

(*spoke in Spanish*)

Mention has been made of the Republic of Cuba, which has been the victim in recent days of a hurricane that unfortunately caused very heavy material damage and regrettably brought the loss of life. Despite this situation, however, Cuba has been sending doctors to other sister islands of the Caribbean in order to meet their needs resulting from this natural disaster.

Without a doubt, Cuba is an example of solidarity; in exchange for this daily solidarity, it has not asked for anything from anyone — no oil or mining concession — nor has it placed any conditions on its contributions. Cuba is also a concrete example of human rights. I would like many of our countries to attain the level of education and health that the Cubans have attained. But most importantly, Cuba is an example of dignity. For more than 60 years, Cuba has suffered under a unilateral and unfair blockade, which is why the General Assembly has met on several occasions to seek an end to such blockade.

Bolivia therefore demands that the United States unilaterally and unconditionally end this unfair blockade, which for more than 60 years has caused so much suffering for the Cuban people. This failed policy is unfair and it should come to an end. The new actions announced by President Trump represent a resurgence of the financial, commercial and economic blockade against Cuba and reverses the advances made in the bilateral relations between Cuba and United States. Accordingly, the United Nations must abide by its decisions, and the United States should not only lift its criminal blockade but also pay reparative compensation for the damages that it has caused. It should also return Guantanamo to Cuban sovereignty.

Mention has also been made of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, which is now facing precisely what 120 Members of the Organization have rejected, namely, unilateral sanctions and threats of invasion by the Government of the United States, which of course is seeking to boycott the dialogue process that is being pursued. Bolivia naturally and categorically rejects these unilateral sanctions. We reject these threats of invasion and the use of force, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, we wish to express support and solidarity for President Nicolás Maduro Moros and the people of Venezuela. Bolivia supports the initiatives for dialogue so that the democratic means proposed by the Government of Venezuela may resolve the situation in the country.

Mention has also been made of relations with Israel. The Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77 and China and the vast majority of members of the General Assembly have clearly expressed their opposition to the criminal occupation by Israel of Palestinian territory. Bolivia condemns the building of new settlements as well as the military aggressions against Palestinian people. We demand that the two-State solution be implemented, creating a Palestinian State and an Israeli State within pre-1967 borders and with East Jerusalem as its capital.

The President: I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Delegations with lengthy statements are kindly requested to circulate their texts in writing and deliver a condensed version when speaking in the Chamber.

I now invite His Excellency Mr. Jacob Zuma, President of South Africa, to take the floor.

President Zuma: Unfortunately, I am just hearing now that I have to condense my statement. Although I had no time to do any condensing, I will try to be brief.

South Africa welcomes the convening of today's open debate on peacekeeping operations. For Africa and for all States members of the African Union (AU), the issue of peacekeeping operations — in particular, AU-led peace-support operations — is one of great importance. The debate is timely, as it comes amid a manifestation of diverse threats to peace and security in Africa.

The scourges of terrorism and violent extremism, as well as the proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons, are some of the security challenges that Africa has to contend with currently. Furthermore, the emergence of new armed groups and splinter armed

groups and the presence of negative forces in some of the conflict situations on the continent are a source of concern. Some of these threats maybe peculiar to the African continent. At the same time, it could be argued that some threats, such as terrorism and violent extremism, are global phenomena, with implications that transcend borders. As such, the United Nations has an obligation to support regional peace and security initiatives undertaken in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

Significant progress has been made in advancing the partnership between the United Nations and the AU on matters of peace and security. In this regard, we welcome the signing of the Joint United Nations-African Union Framework for an Enhanced Partnership in Peace and Security, on 19 April. The Framework is a clear demonstration that African peace and security challenges cannot be left to the AU alone to resolve, given their complexity and far-reaching implications. The Framework will further enhance and consolidate coordination, cooperation and collaboration between the two organizations.

The issue of practicable, flexible and sustainable financing for AU peace-support operations authorized by the Security Council is one of great concern to South Africa. While we understand the apprehension of some Council members regarding the use of United Nations assessed contributions for the financing of such operations, we also maintain the view that the discussions of the Security Council on this issue of fundamental importance to Africa should be guided by the principle of the primacy of the United Nations, through the Security Council, in the maintenance of international peace and security, and by the common understanding that when the AU intervenes in conflicts and crisis situations on the continent, it does so on behalf of the Security Council. Therefore, the United Nations has a duty to provide United Nations assessed contributions for AU-led peace-support operations that are authorized by the Security Council .

South Africa therefore welcomes the steps taken by the Secretary-General in finding a solution to this matter. We have taken note of the four financing model options through which United Nations assessed contributions can be utilized to meet the financial gaps in AU-led peace-support operations, presented by the Secretary-General in his report (S/2017/454) on options for authorization and support for African Union peace support operations. These include subventions in exceptional and emergency circumstances; joint financing of a jointly developed budget; United Nations support offices; and joint financing of a hybrid mission. We further note that of these four, the Secretary-General has recommended that the Security Council endorse, in principle, the option of joint financing through a jointly developed budget.

It is my delegation's considered view that the Security Council should explore implementing all the financing model options proposed in the Secretary-General's report on a case-by-case basis, noting that this will be determined by the nature and peculiarities of each AU-led peace-support operation. However, these should be applied in such a way as to build on the successes while also addressing the weaknesses of these models by learning from past experience.

I wish to reiterate South Africa's continued commitment to the revitalization of the AU Peace Fund. We support the three windows of activities to be financed by the Fund. Our evaluation is that mediation and preventive diplomacy should remain the primary priority of our peace and security activities so as to mitigate the impacts of conflicts.

South Africa agrees with the observation in the report of the Secretary-General, that

> "[p]eace support operations are a key tool on which the international community increasingly relies to address the challenges to peace and security in Africa" (*S/2017/454, para. 2*).

For that reason, my delegation believes that the United Nations can do more on the issue of financing of African peace-support operations, taking into consideration the circumstances under which such operations are deployed, often at significant human sacrifice. In essence, this is a fundamental contribution to any peace-support operation that ought to be appreciated by the international community at large.

To conclude, I further wish to remind everyone of our shared goal and responsibility towards a peaceful, stable and prosperous Africa, in line with the objectives of the AU Agenda 2063 flagship project, the Silencing the Guns by 2020 initiative.

The President: I now invite Her Excellency Ms. Kersti Kaljulaid, President of the Republic of Estonia, to take the floor.

President Kaljulaid: I thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's open debate. We in Estonia remain committed to Secretary-General Guterres' reform agenda. Reforms should take us to a more effective United Nations, with a clear emphasis on conflict prevention and mediation. Our peacekeeping operations must have tangible targets and exit strategies. To be effective, the operations must have built-in flexibility, as the surrounding situation is inevitably volatile.

The best information about the changing needs come from our mission commanders and other field entities. Applying their suggestions guarantees automatic adaptation to changes on the ground. In addition, listening to those in the field and taking into account what they have to say is good for the motivation of our field staff. We need those with courage to reach out to us decision makers. These people are with us only if we respond in a receptive manner. Thus, we create a positive circuit of adaptation necessary to achieve our peacekeeping objectives.

To achieve sustainable peace, partnership with regional organizations, host Governments and local communities is vital. It is best done by demonstrating day after day how important it is for us to protect civilians, assure the sustainability of the rule of law, respect for human rights and international law, and to involve local actors in supporting the core values underlying all our actions.

Peacekeeping operations need to be complemented with activities aimed at effectively improving the living conditions of the affected populations, including the quick implementation of effective and visible projects that create jobs and deliver basic social services in the post-conflict phase. Also, all mechanisms to support women's full participation in peacebuilding and security issues are vital, as they will also guarantee the best protection of children in mission areas.

We can achieve sustainable peace only if we have a thorough and broad understanding of conflicts and their root causes. In that regard, it is unfortunate that the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali will be left without its intelligence unit. The latter provided decision makers on all levels with unique understanding of the issues at hand.

United Nations peacekeeping operations have an essential role to play in securing peace and stability globally. Unfortunately, peacekeeping operations are sometimes seen as a waste of resources, with a lack of positive outcomes, but we know that the truth is quite the opposite, and we must find ways to make that common knowledge. Communication is an important guarantee of the continued support of general public.

Wide attention via modern channels is difficult to achieve, but it is rapidly becoming one of the most efficient tools for sharing our objectives, actions and achieved results. As research shows, peacekeeping reduces the number of civilians killed. Moreover, it is also cost-effective. The United Nations peacekeeping budget is less than half of 1 per cent of global military spending, and it is shared among all 193 United Nations Member States. That is the simple truth that we have every right to be proud of while we continue to aspire to the constant improvement of our peacekeeping activities, as we should do in this unpredictable world.

The President: I now give the floor to the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Mr. Kalla (Indonesia): I thank the presidency of Ethiopia for convening this open debate.

Indonesia's commitment to global peace and security is cemented within our Constitution. As such, shortly after its independence, Indonesia at once deployed its first Blue Helmets. Today, we stand as one of the top contributing countries. We will soon deploy 1,040 peacekeepers, including those deployed to the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic.

The contribution of the Blue Helmets to global peace and security is undisputable. However, in the age of global uncertainty and its ensuing challenges, reform is needed. Indonesia therefore supports United Nations peacekeeping reform. I wish to highlight several pertinent points.

First, successful reform requires collective and strong political support. Partnership between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the contributing and host countries must be enhanced. The silo mindset of the United Nations should therefore be removed. Secondly, the 2015 report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (S/2015/446) provides important guidelines for essential shifts in peacekeeping operations. We must translate the guidelines into action. Thirdly, we must continue to interlink preventive diplomacy, mediation and peacebuilding. They form essential elements for sustaining peace.

Reform must reflect the actual needs of peacekeepers on the ground. Capacity-building is one essential element. it requires standardized knowledge and innovative training, thereby enhancing peacekeepers' capability to protect civilians, while ensuring their own safety. In the end, the world will benefit from more capable United Nations peacekeepers.

On our part, Indonesia stands ready to contribute, not only to enhancing the professionalism of peacekeepers, but also to promoting the role of women in peacekeeping. Over the past three years, the Indonesia Peacekeeping Center has trained peacekeepers from 30 countries, including 7,000 Indonesian peacekeepers.

The important role of regional mechanisms in maintaining peace and stability is indispensable. In South-East Asia, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations has created a regional ecosystem of peace, stability and prosperity. This exemplifies the concrete contribution of regional organizations to global peace. The United Nations must therefore strengthen its partnership and engagement with regional organizations. Its partnership with the African Union, for instance, has contributed to overcoming capacity gaps in the region.

Determined to be a true partner for world peace, Indonesia will run for election as a non-permanent member of the Security Council for the term 2019-2020 in order to create a global ecosystem of peace and stability, to ensure synergy between sustaining peace and development agenda, and to combat terrorism, radicalism and violent extremism.

The President: I now give the floor to the Deputy Prime Minister of Nepal.

Mr. Krishna (Nepal): Nepal congratulates the Ethiopian presidency of the Council on convening this important open debate. We also thank the Secretary-General and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission for their valuable briefings.

Peacekeeping is the United Nations flagship activity in the maintenance of international peace and security. Today's peacekeeping operations are not limited to monitoring ceasefires, but have evolved into multidimensional operations. However, peacekeeping cannot do what negotiated political settlements can do. Also, there can be no development without peace and no lasting peace without sustainable development. Peacekeeping efforts should build the domestic capacities of countries emerging from conflict and ensure their own impartiality and credibility.

Nepal has been considered a consistent and reliable partner of United Nations peacekeeping for nearly 60 years now. Over 130,000 Nepalese peacekeepers have served to date, and 73 have made the ultimate sacrifice. Currently the sixth-largest troop and police contributor, and having served in some of the most difficult missions, Nepal wishes to make the following points on the reform of United Nations peacekeeping.

United Nations peace operations have successfully adapted to evolving situations, and that should continue. Reform should be a continuous process, not a one-time event. Reform depends on the political will, commitment, support and solidarity of all the stakeholders. Selective implementation of the recommendations contained in major reports cannot produce the results that we all want.

Nepal welcomes the Secretary-General's call for a surge in peace diplomacy. It should be used to speed up reform in the Council's working methods, including by supporting the capacity-building of national Governments in sustaining peace.

Prevention and sustaining peace should reinforced with resources for the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and coordination with the Security Council, the Secretariat and troop- and police-contributing countries, who need to be there right from the planning phase.

Peacekeeping missions should protect civilians and ensure the safety and security of the peacekeepers to help keep their morale high so that they may deliver even in adverse situations.

I wish to conclude by assuring the Assembly of Nepal's commitment to supporting reforms in peace operations. Let us all move beyond non-implementation of the report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (see S/2015/446) and work together to make United Nations peacekeeping successful.

The President: I now invite Her Excellency Ms. Erna Solberg, Prime Minister of Norway, to take the floor.

Ms. Solberg (Norway): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the Republic of Korea and my own country, Norway. In 2014 our three countries established an

informal cross-regional group of friends of the United Nations peace operations. The group has since been meeting regularly to facilitate dialogue on reforms.

According to the Office of the United Nations high Commissioner for Refugees, more than 65 million people were forcibly displaced by conflict last year — the highest number on record. Behind those figures there are individual men, women and children — families that have been broken up and forced to leave their homes. We must do what we can to prevent, solve and alleviate the immense source of human suffering.

The 2015 report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (see S/2015/446) was a milestone in our efforts to make peace operations more agile and effective. Together with other recent reviews, the report represents a coherent set of recommendations to adapt United Nations peace operations to the increasingly complex realities of the field. I would like to highlight three areas where the Security Council can engage and work in close dialogue with the Secretariat, troop- and police-contributing countries and host States.

First, the search for a political solution should guide the design and deployment of all peace operations. Security Council members must strive to overcome their own differences in order to maximize the Council's political leverage. Only then can we expect genuine engagement from political leaders and parties to a conflict. But ultimately, no outside engagement can be a substitute for genuine political will from the leaders of the countries themselves.

Secondly, the United Nations cannot and should not go it alone. In these times of rapid and profound changes in the global security landscape, we need a strong global peace and security architecture led by the United Nations working in close partnership with regional and subregional organizations. We particularly welcome the new strategic partnership between the United Nations and the African Union (AU).

We encourage the Security Council to make the most of its relationship with the African Union Peace and Security Council. It is urgent to agree on a more predictable system for financing and support for AU-led operations. There will be no lasting peace in Somalia or in the Sahel region if the African Union Mission to Somalia or the joint force of the Group of Five States for the Sahel are not adequately financed and supported.

Thirdly, the litmus test for our efforts should be more effective delivery in the field. It must include more active engagement with local communities, not least with women. Effective peace operations depend on the ability of the United Nations to deliver as one, often in difficult environments. We are therefore greatly encouraged by the Secretary-General's initiative to overhaul the United Nations management systems to build unity and efficiency across the system. Priority should be given to ensure the safety and security of the personnel we deploy to the field on our behalf.

We are pleased that Secretary-General Guterres has made continued reform a cornerstone of his agenda, building on the framework of the reviews. We can count on the continued support of Ethiopia, Norway and the Republic of Korea, as well as other friends of United Nations peace operations. We will keep pressing for change to allow United Nations peace operations to fulfil their true potential. We are convinced that the only way forward is by working together, focusing on what unites us rather than on what divides us.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lithuania.

Mr. Linkevičius (Lithuania): I thank the President for organizing this highly pertinent open debate. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General, the Chairperson of the African Union Commission and the representative of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations for their briefings.

Since the inception of the United Nations, peacekeeping — a concept that was not even mentioned in the Charter of the United Nations — has developed into an indispensable tool for the maintenance of national peace and security. Over time it has become a flagship activity of the United Nations.

Today peacekeepers operate in much more challenging environments than at any time in history. They serve in areas where there is no peace to keep. The multidimensional character of today's peacekeeping and the new, demanding realities on the ground point to the urgency of peacekeeping reform.

As a troop-contributing country, Lithuania has a great interest in making United Nations peacekeeping more efficient and correspondent to the needs of the twenty-first century. In October, an additional 34 troops from Lithuania will join the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission

in Mali, making a total of 39 service members — a contribution to be maintained through the next year.

More than two years ago, the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations published its recommendations on peacekeeping reform (see S/2015/446). It is true that the implementation and follow-up of those recommendations has been far too slow. Recent peace and security reform initiatives of the Secretary-General provide us with a unique chance to build the momentum and keep the spirit of the High-level Panel alive over the next year and beyond. The reform proposals and determination of the Secretary-General give us a genuine hope that the full implementation of his reform agenda might reshape peacekeeping and bring the prevention potential of the United Nations to its full realization.

"We the peoples" are the first words of the 1945 Charter of the United Nations. However, today United Nations peace operations are rightly criticized for neglecting the very people that the United Nations is entrusted to protect. The protection of civilians under imminent threat must remain a key priority in all peacekeeping missions. In that context, I am proud to announce that, on 13 September, Lithuania endorsed and recognized the Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians.

We are deeply concerned that, despite the long-declared zero-tolerance policy towards all forms of sexual exploitation and abuse by the United Nations and related personnel, sexual abuse continues to take place. Lithuania strongly supports Secretary-General's efforts to act with determination and bring sexual exploitation to an end. A few days ago, Lithuania signed a compact on the elimination of sexual exploitation and abuse, and the President of Lithuania joined the Circle of Leadership.

Much too often, mediation and peace processes remain male-dominated. While women are disproportionately affected by conflict, the critical role of women in negotiating, keeping and building peace in their communities is often overlooked. The deployment of women's protection advisers and human rights and gender-awareness training are useful tools in peacekeeping and should be further expanded.

The safety and security of United Nations personnel and peacekeepers in the field must remain a high priority. Clear steps are needed to ensure that our peacekeepers have the capabilities they need to protect themselves first of all and, of course, fulfil their mandate. Continuous attacks against the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali and many other peacekeeping missions indicate the urgent need for our collective reform action. The use of technologies in peacekeeping should improve early-warning capabilities and enhance the ability to detect, mitigate, deter and respond to all types of threats. That is especially pertinent where peacekeepers face asymmetrical threats.

In conclusion, we believe that both the Secretary-General and Member States could build on the emerging consensus to better integrate prevention and sustaining peace into the work of United Nations peace operations. Let us unite around the proposed peace and security reform initiative of the Secretary-General and fully utilize such unique momentum to reform United Nations peacekeeping.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.